

THE 15-M MEMEPLEX

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This thesis examines Spain’s “15-M” protests and four citizen-led “follow-on groups” that have emerged since 15-M’s inception in 2011. These campaigns for social and political change resist tough austerity measures with protests that exhibit inventive textual, spatial, and visual communication practices. These practices can be explored by focusing on the extent to which 15-M’s “memeplex,” or ensemble of protest memes, has been replicated by the four follow-on groups. Application of conceptual tools drawn from argumentation, rhetoric, memetics, and semiotics supports study of each group’s communication strategies and practices. Artifacts for analysis include photographs, content from social media websites, interviews, news analyses, and blog entries. The thesis contributes to scholarly discussions of civic activism in Spain since 2011, intervenes into theoretical conversations regarding the rhetoric of social movements, and offers generalizable insights with regard to twenty-first century protest activity that may be useful for understanding other national contexts where citizens have rallied to inspire change using “occupy” tactics (e.g., the United States, Greece, Ukraine, and Brazil).

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PREFACE

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1.0 15-M AND ITS MEMEPLEX

In the summer of 2011, a week before Spain's general elections, the Spanish platform "Democracia Real Ya" (DRY) (Real Democracy Now) issued a nationwide call for mobilizations to be held on May 15, 2011. These mobilizations were called to denounce the "abusive" political and economic conditions that Spanish citizens were experiencing. Demonstrations occurred in over fifty cities; Madrid's Puerta del Sol plaza alone drew a crowd of over 10,000 protestors. During Madrid's demonstration, over 30 individuals from the manifestation decided to continue their protests through the night in Puerta del Sol; this decision would mark the formation of a protest group that came to be known as 15-M and the creation of 15-M's Puerta del Sol *acampada* (encampment).

The *acampada* in Madrid was soon replicated in the form of other demonstration sites nationally and internationally. Those who participated in these *acampadas* endeavored to bring forth social, political, and economic change, with the expectation that their efforts would eventually end Spain's climate of corruption and rejuvenate its democracy. By early June, 15-M's *acampadas* concluded, bringing forth a new wave of civic activism throughout Spain. In a sense, this surge of civic activism enabled 15-M and its principles to continue to exist, through nationwide *asambleas* (assemblies), *comisiones* (commissions), and over fifty newly-formed protest groups that addressed diverse social, political, and economic matters (see Figure 1).

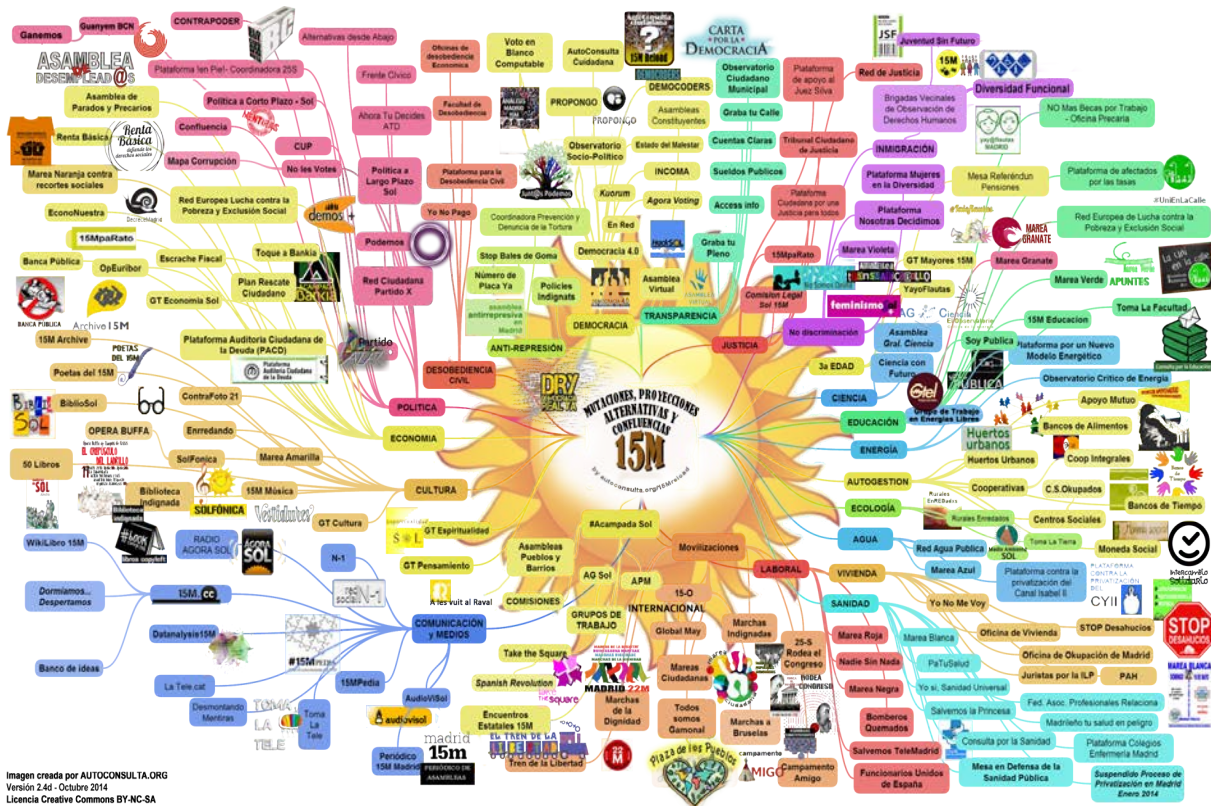


Figure 1. Thematic infographic of groups that have formed in addition to 15-M.¹

This wave of activism continues to the present. Unlike the relatively ephemeral Occupy Wall Street protests in the United States, 15-M continues to operate via many different incarnations.² Therefore, 15-M presents a promising case study in how twenty-first century civic activism may be employed to maintain a civic voice that challenges the social, political, and economic *doxai* of a nation.³ This thesis explores how Spain's 15-M may be interpreted as a meaning-producing “memplex,” through performing an interdisciplinary, comparative analysis

¹ “Mutaciones, Proyecciones, Alternativas y Confluencias 15M,” AutoConsultaCiudadana, accessed December 23, 2014, <http://autoconsulta.org/mutaciones.php>.

² John L. Hammond, “The Significance of Space in Occupy Wall Street,” *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements* 5 (2013): 516, <http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Interface-5-2-Hammond.pdf>; Todd Gitlin, “Postoccupied,” *The Sociological Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (March 27, 2013): 226, doi:10.1111/tsq.12025.

³ Jacques Derrida, *Ethics, Institutions, and the Right to Philosophy*, ed. Peter Pericles Trifonas (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2002), 61; Vernon W. Cisney, “Jacques Derrida and the Future,” in *Husserl's Ideen*, ed. Lester Embree and Thomas Nenon, Contributions to Phenomenology (New York: Springer, 2013), 441. *Doxai* is the plural form of the Greek word *doxa*, which has been translated as: “popular opinion,” and the “common opinion of the masses.”

of 15-M and the following four Spanish protest groups that formed in Spain subsequent to the May 2011 *acampadas*:

- “*Ahora, Tú Decides*” (Now, You Decide), is a diverse on-line group of Spanish citizens from a wide range of professions (e.g., lawyers, journalists, economists, and the unemployed) who virtually deliberate and vote upon ideas, with the goal of functioning as citizen lobbyists for the people, in order to bring about political, economic, and social change in Spain.⁴
- “*Marea Blanca*” (White Tide), is a group comprised of healthcare professionals, primarily physicians, that is known for protesting in the streets of Spain for accessible public healthcare in white coats during their organized demonstrations and marches, as a result of their indignation over the recent austerity measures that have been implemented in the Spanish healthcare system.
- “*Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda*” (Citizen Debt Audit Platform) is a citizen-based Spanish debt auditing platform of activists, professors, and economists, among others, who question the bailout of the Spanish banks and seek legal action against those who are responsible for Spain’s economic crisis and its problematic management.
- “*Yay@flautas/Iai@flautas*” (Grandparent Flutes) is a group comprised of individuals above the age of fifty who are against the privatization of public services, the bailout of Spanish banks, and the general management of the economic crisis. They protest through organizing marches and occupying

⁴ Unless otherwise specified, all translations are by the author.

buildings. Yayoflaudas view their protests as a means of securing a better life for their children and the coming generations.⁵

These four selected protest groups — hereafter also referred to as “follow-on groups” — each have a direct relationship to 15-M, citing this group as either an inspirational or influential source.⁶ As such, they richly inform study of 15-M’s protest practices.

This investigation will focus primarily on textual and visual media produced by 15-M and the four follow-on groups. Several texts will be selected that illustrate different imitation patterns and highlight characteristics that represent the respective points of view of 15-M and the follow-on groups. As a qualitative research project, this thesis will utilize a critical approach grounded in rhetorical, argumentative, semiotic, and memetic analysis methods. Such an angle of inquiry will shed light on which aspects of the 15-M memeplex were imitated by the four protest groups, and the extent to which the imitation process carries markers of rhetorical invention. In addition, it will steer attention to each protest group’s use of rhetorical and argumentative strategies, evident in the representation of social actors, events, and discourse. Three key questions serve as points of departure for the study that follows:

1. What are the primary connections between the 15-M acampadas and the follow-on Spanish protest groups that followed in the wake of the initial 2011

⁵ Throughout this thesis, the terms *Yayoflaudas* and *Iaioflautas* will be used interchangeably, as they both refer to the same collective of adults and senior citizens that participates in various protest efforts in Spain. *Yayoflaudas* is the Spanish-language name of this group, while *Iaioflautas* is its Catalan-language name, used in the Catalan-speaking regions of Spain. At times, the at-sign (@) may appear in either linguistic variation of the name, in an effort to emphasize the mixed-gender composition of this group.

⁶ “FAQs,” *AhoraTuDecides*, accessed July 23, 2013, <http://www.ahoratudecides.es/index.php/faqs/>; “¿Quiénes somos?,” *Plataforma Auditoria Ciudadana de la Deuda*, accessed July 23, 2013, <http://auditoriaciudadana.net/quienes-somos/>; *Iaioflautas*, “Reinventarnos, una propuesta abierta de trabajo desde la réplica de Barcelona #15M,” @*Iaioflautas* (blog), last modified May 15, 2014, <http://www.iaioflautas.org/blog/2014/05/15/reinventarnos-una-propuesta-abierta-de-trabajo-desde-la-replica-de-barcelona-15m/>; Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid, “Quiénes somos,” mesaendefensasaniadpublica.wordpress.com, accessed July 20, 2013, <http://mesaendefensasaniadpublica.wordpress.com/about/>.

mobilizations?

2. How do 15-M and the follow-on groups' approaches to democratizing Spain differ from one another?
3. To what extent might the coupling of Susan Blackmore's concept of the "memeplex" with Michael Calvin McGee's theorization of social movements as "a set of meanings" yield useful tools for analyzing twenty-first century civic activism?

The central research questions proposed by this thesis are timely and relevant lines of inquiry in the present global climate, as the world observes the emergence of many important political uprisings across the globe that challenge the existing *doxai* of many nations beyond the Spanish context.⁷ Political uprisings, such as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street, the Brazilian Spring, Turkey's demonstrations in Taksim Gezi Park, and, the 2014 protests in Ukraine's Independence Square, have arisen among those seeking representation in their respective nations. Insight into the Spanish context, through 15-M and the follow-on groups, may help to shed light on the evolution of other recent political uprisings across the globe. Furthermore, an analysis of how the memeplex phenomenon relates to protest activity also may help explain why some occupy movements tend to spur sustainable follow-on protest groups, while others enjoy relatively less success in establishing a durable civic presence. The following section will elucidate the overarching theoretical concepts that will be employed in the forthcoming analysis of 15-M and the four follow-on groups.

⁷ Louis Manfield, "En-Clave de Sol," *Teknokultura: Revista de Cultura Digital Y Movimientos Sociales* 8, no. 2 (2011): 226, <http://teknokultura.net/index.php/tk/article/view/17/pdf>. The work of Louis Manfield has highlighted how 15-M challenges Spanish popular opinion (*doxa*) on social, political, and economic levels, through its performance, discourse, and organization.

1.1 CRITICAL APPROACH AND CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

1.1.1 Memes, Memeplexes, and Michael Calvin McGee

In 1976, evolutionary biologist Richard Dawkins published the book, *The Selfish Gene*, in which he coined the term “meme” to describe “a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of *imitation*” (e.g., an idea, behavior, song, symbol, ideology) that is transmitted from person-to-person, through the process of “imitation” (i.e., mimesis).⁸ The etymological derivation of the term “meme” finds its root as an abbreviation of the Greek word *μίμημα* (*mimeme*) “something imitated,” from *μιμεῖσθαι* (*mimeisthai*) “to imitate,” from *μῖμος* (*mimos*) “mime.”⁹ Dawkins builds his conceptualization of the meme upon evolutionary theory given the analogous nature of cultural transmission to genetic transmission; hence his use of the term meme acts as the metaphorical cultural equivalent to the biological gene.¹⁰ Dawkins’ germinal publication gave way to a new field of study known as “memetics,” defined as the “theoretical and empirical science that studies the replication, spread, and evolution of memes,” and to the creation of the *Journal of Memetics* in the late 1990s.¹¹ Within the field of communication, various scholars, such as Davi Johnson Thornton and Limor Shifman, have explored the rhetorical potential of

⁸ Richard Dawkins, *The Selfish Gene: 30th Anniversary Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press., 2006), 192. Dawkins states that during the process of meme transmission, the meme is “subject to mutation” and “blending” (195).

⁹ *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th., s.v. “Meme, Mimesis”; Dawkins, *Selfish Gene*. Dawkins indicated that he elected to shorten the Greek word *mimeme* to meme, in order for it to bear greater resemblance to the word “gene” (192).

¹⁰ Dawkins, *Selfish Gene*, 189. It is important to note that gene and meme are not mutually interchangeable, but rather the gene serves as a pivotal framework upon which the meme’s conceptual structure is modeled and developed, as noted by James Lull and Eduardo Neiva, who state that Dawkins does not intend to equate “genetic replication” to “social imitation.” James Lull and Eduardo Neiva, “Communicating Culture: An Evolutionary Explanation,” *Comunicar* 18, no. 36 (March 1, 2011): 27, doi:10.3916/C36-2011-02-02. For an important and lucid rhetorical perspective, see John Lyne, “Bio-Rhetorics: Moralizing the Life Sciences,” in *The Rhetorical Turn: Invention and Persuasion in the Conduct of Inquiry*, ed. Herbert W. Simons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 35–57.

¹¹ Limor Shifman, “Memes in a Digital World: Reconciling with a Conceptual Troublemaker,” *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 18, no. 3 (April 26, 2013): 363–364, doi:10.1111/jcc4.12013.

meme theory within their analyses.¹² This thesis will focus on the memetic concept of the “memplex,” as elucidated by psychologist and memetic scholar Susan Blackmore in her book, *The Meme Machine*, in conjunction with Michael Calvin McGee’s concept of “movement” as a “set of meanings” presented in his article, “‘Social Movement’: Phenomenon or Meaning?” Moreover, this analysis will address and expound upon the interrelation of these two concepts and their theoretical significance.

A memplex is comprised of a cluster of memes, which are advantageously grouped together, in order to increase the likelihood of their respective transmission and replication.¹³ It is through the clustered configuration of memes, within the memplex, that each respective meme is afforded an increased probability of replication than would otherwise be expected.¹⁴ After a memplex has formed, the co-existing memes instigate actions of evolutionary “self-[organization]” and “self-[protection],” through simultaneously rejecting non-compatible memes and integrating those, which it deems compatible within its increasingly complex structure.¹⁵ Blackmore has referred to religions, cults, political ideologies, and the self, as examples of memplexes.¹⁶ This analysis posits that the Spanish protest group 15-M may be understood as a meaning-producing memplex, an assertion which will be further developed after an explication regarding how the 15-M’s memplex is meaning-producing, through an analysis of McGee’s

¹² Limor Shifman, “An Anatomy of a YouTube Meme,” *New Media & Society* 14, no. 2 (October 3, 2011): 187–203, doi:10.1177/1461444811412160; Shifman, “Memes in a Digital World”; Davi Johnson, “Mapping the Meme: A Geographical Approach to Materialist Rhetorical Criticism,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 4, no. 1 (March 2007): 27–50, doi:10.1080/14791420601138286.

¹³ Susan Blackmore, *The Meme Machine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 231. This concept was first articulated in Richard Dawkins work *The Selfish Meme* (1999), under the term “co-adapted meme-complexes,” which was later shortened to “memplex” in 1995, in the unpublished conference paper by Hans-Cees Speel. Michael D. C. Drout, “A Meme-Based Approach to Oral Traditional Theory,” *Oral Tradition* 21, no. 2 (2006): 270, doi:10.1353/ort.2007.0002.

¹⁴ Blackmore, *The Meme Machine*, 20.

¹⁵ Blackmore, *The Meme Machine*, 169, 231.

¹⁶ Blackmore, *The Meme Machine*, 41, 231. Other scholars have provided the following examples of memplexes: academic disciplines, medicine, neurosurgery, and metrosexuality. Johnson, “Mapping the Meme,” 41; Antonio Di Ieva, “Memetics in Neurosurgery and Neuroscience,” *NeuroQuantology* 6, no. 2 (2008): 187, 190, <http://neuroquantology.com/index.php/journal/article/view/173>.

article on social movement as a “set of meanings.”

In the 1980s, a paradigmatic agreement existed between American empirical sociologists and communication studies scholars with regard to the conceptualization of social movements as phenomenal.¹⁷ McGee challenged this interpretation of social movements and propounded that “social movement” should be understood as a “set of meanings.”¹⁸ The fundamental disagreement for McGee stems from “*how*” social movement relates to the human experience, either “*directly*,” turning it into a phenomenon or “*inferentially*,” to exist as “an interpretation, a “set of meanings.””¹⁹ McGee argues that “social movement(s)” should not be treated as phenomena and that the notions that support their phenomenal interpretation are predicated upon three fallacious suppositions.²⁰ Further, McGee asserts that an alternative theoretical approach to movement is necessitated within communication and that this theory of movement should endeavor to be “hermeneutic” and address human consciousness.²¹ McGee contends that “movement” is an expression for those who “need” to see “progress” or “destiny,” despite “movement” being an *illusion*, and accordingly argues that “legitimate” studies of “movement(s)” are those that focus on consciousness and ideology.²²

This new approach advocated by McGee “reconfigure[s]” the interrelation between “movements” and “human communication,” from communication serving as a figure within the context of “movement” to “movement existing as a figure or meaning within the ground/context of human communication.”²³ Consequently, McGee’s theory of movement allows for an

¹⁷ Michael C. McGee, “‘Social Movement’: Phenomenon or Meaning?,” *Central States Speech Journal* 31, no. 4 (1980): 235, doi:10.1080/10510978009368063.

¹⁸ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 233.

¹⁹ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 233.

²⁰ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 236, 239–241. The three logical fallacies McGee references are: *tu quoque*, *reductio*, and the affirmation of a consequence, rather than the establishing of a condition.

²¹ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 241, 242.

²² McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 242, 243.

²³ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 242.

individualized subjective understanding of “social movement” in relation to its human experience.²⁴ This permits the individual to create an “individuated ordering of [his or her] social reality” and, accordingly, each signifier used to describe or understand one’s experience of the event may be understood as a “*meaning*.”²⁵ Therefore, McGee’s rhetorical theory of movement argues that one cannot allege that movement “exists or has occurred” until one is able to evidence through “public discourse” that “descriptors of the environment have changed in *common usage*.”²⁶ When such a change occurs in the “*common usage*” of a term, McGee contends that one may “assume” that the consciousness of the environment has “moved” as a result of the change in meaning that the descriptor has come to assume and we may conclude this movement in meaning to be representative of “movement.”²⁷ As such, one should attempt to “*prove*” (i.e., conclude) and not “*presume*” (i.e., unfoundedly assert) the existence of “movement(s),” and as such, “social movement” should be a “*conclusion*” formed when a verifiable change in human consciousness has occurred within a given environment.²⁸

McGee proposes that one may evidence “movement” through observable changes in a social system’s “ideograph,” a concept introduced by McGee in his 1980 article, “The ‘Ideograph’: A link Between Rhetoric and Ideology.”²⁹ In this article, McGee asserts that ideographs are words (e.g., “religion” and “liberty”) that are “pregnant” with meanings, forming the foundational support for a culture’s ideology, as they “signify and contain a unique

²⁴ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 236–237. For instance, McGee states that when he speaks of the “Feminist Movement,” he is referring to a group of behaviors or a political organization, which may be “designated in several ways.” Consequently, when one witnesses an example of social protest, each individual will conceptualize his or her experience of either viewing or participating in the event from an array of “signifiers” (e.g., “rebellion,” “revolution,” and “subversion”).

²⁵ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 236.

²⁶ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 232. A change in “*common usage*” could be accomplished either through the use of a new term or an overt change in meaning to an old term.

²⁷ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 243.

²⁸ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 243, 244.

²⁹ McGee, “‘Social Movement,’” 243.

ideological commitment” to act as “one-term sums of an orientation . . . [and] line of argument.”³⁰ Ideographs become “socialized [and] conditioned” into the vocabulary of an individual in a community and serve to “guide” his or her actions and beliefs to coincide with those of the community.³¹ These terms are “bound within the culture which they define” and may be found in discourse “functioning as agents of political consciousness.”³² For McGee, ideology is a political language that is established in a community through the “usage” of ideographs, exerting a form of social control over the consciousness of a polity.³³ Therefore, all members of a society become “predisposed” to certain responses and interpretations, stemming from the ideology of their culture, which comes to “govern or dominate” the consciousness of the individual.³⁴ However, these terms are able to undergo a “change” in meaning, which would concurrently change the “present ideology” of the society and constitute an observable “movement.”³⁵ Thus, utilizing McGee’s logic, one may understand “movement as an ideological state and rhetoric as constitutive or representative of that state.”³⁶

This analysis employs Blackmore’s memetic structure of the memplex, in conjunction with McGee’s rhetorical theory of movement as “a set of meanings” to re-conceptualize the Spanish protest group 15-M, as a meaning-producing memplex.³⁷ Given that 15-M has yet to

³⁰ Michael Calvin McGee, “The ‘Ideograph’: A Link between Rhetoric and Ideology,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 66, no. 1 (February 1980): 5–8, doi:10.1080/00335638009383499. For instance, the ideograph of “equality” differs in “meaning and usage” when examined within the socio-historical context of United States, as opposed to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (8).

³¹ McGee, “‘Ideograph,’” 15. Those within a community who elect to utilize ideographs in “heretical ways” receive societal penalties for this type of transgression.

³² McGee, “‘Ideograph,’” 7, 9. Moreover, McGee argues that ideographs are defined in relation to other ideographs and claims that their significance arises not from their definitional content, but from the “history” of the term’s usage (9, 10, 14).

³³ McGee, “‘Ideograph,’” 15–16.

³⁴ McGee, “‘Ideograph,’” 15.

³⁵ McGee, “‘Ideograph,’” 13.

³⁶ Michael Calvin McGee, “Social Movement as Meaning,” *Central States Speech Journal* 34, no. 1 (March 1983): 77, doi:10.1080/10510978309368117.

³⁷ A survey of the existing English-language literature on 15-M (A.K.A., M-15, 15M, M15M and M15-M) confirms a prevailing interpretation of this protest group as a social movement. See, Ernesto Castañeda, “The

produce a verifiable “movement” of consciousness in Spain, one would not be able to refer to 15-M as a “movement.” In order to refer to 15-M as a “social movement,” one would need to evidence through an analysis of Spanish “public discourse” that a change of meaning in Spanish ideographs has transpired, attributed to the actions of 15-M. In this analysis, 15-M may be understood as a group of meanings contained within a memeplex, which supports 15-M being interpreted as the 15-M memeplex, based on the abovementioned rationale. The 15-M memeplex is a theoretical structure that contains a diverse group of ideas, beliefs, and behaviors (i.e., the memes of 15-M), while permitting for an individuated experience of *meaning* for each participant and observer of 15-M. The meaning-producing quality of the 15-M memeplex results from the subjective experience of *meaning* that occurs among the individuals who come in contact with the 15-M memeplex.³⁸ Understanding the transmission of the 15-M memeplex, through elements of the Greek philosopher Isocrates’ pedagogy, provides a conceptual framework and lexicon that will aid in analyzing the replication and mutation of memes from the

Indignados of Spain: A Precedent to Occupy Wall Street,” *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (August 2012): 309, doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.708830; Raúl Sánchez Cedillo, “15M: Something Constituent This Way Comes,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 111, no. 3 (July 20, 2012): 582, doi:10.1215/00382876-1596299; Eunat Serrano Casado, “New Technologies, Social Networks and Media: Spanish Revolution,” *Romanian Journal of Journalism & Communication* 7, no. 3–4 (2012): 27, http://www.jurnalism-comunicare.eu/rrjc/abstract_en.php?id=27; Ignacia Perugorria and Benjamín Tejerina, “Politics of the Encounter: Cognition, Emotions, and Networks in the Spanish 15M,” *Current Sociology* 61, no. 4 (April 17, 2013): 15, doi:10.1177/0011392113479743; Neil Hughes, “‘Young People Took to the Streets and All of a Sudden All of the Political Parties Got Old’: The 15M Movement in Spain,” *Social Movement Studies* 10, no. 4 (November 2011): 403, doi:10.1080/14742837.2011.614109; Greig Charnock, Thomas Purcell, and Ramon Ribera-Fumaz, “¡Indignate!: The 2011 Popular Protests and the Limits to Democracy in Spain,” *Capital & Class* 36, no. 1 (February 9, 2012): 6, doi:10.1177/0309816811431937; Carlos Taibo, “The Spanish Indignados: A Movement with Two Souls,” *European Urban and Regional Studies* 20, no. 1 (January 7, 2013): 155, doi:10.1177/0969776412459846; Irene Martín and Ignacio Urquizu-Sancho, “The 2011 General Election in Spain: The Collapse of the Socialist Party,” *South European Society and Politics* 17, no. 2 (June 2012): 356, doi:10.1080/13608746.2012.708983; Jacobo Abellán, Jorge Sequera, and Michael Janoschka, “Occupying the #Hotelmadrid: A Laboratory for Urban Resistance,” *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (August 2012): 320, doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.708831; Leonarda García-Jiménez, Rocío Zamora-Medina, and Rebeca Martínez-Fernández, “The Construction of Symbolic Power: Comparing Offline and Online Media Representations of Occupy the Street in Spain,” *International Journal of Communication* 8 (2014): 2540–2560, <http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/2259>.

³⁸ For example, an individual who is opposed to the values of 15-M may view this group as a band of disorderly vagabonds and, thus, the meaning he or she experiences in relation to the 15-M memeplex is one of agitation and/or disgust. Whereas, an individual who supports the actions of 15-M may understand this group as pioneers of the future and therefore experience the 15-M memeplex as a source of representation and inspiring opposition.

15-M memplex. The following section presents an overview of a number of Isocratic concepts and their relation to 15-M and its memplex.

1.1.2 Isocratic Mimesis and Logos

In 436 BC, the ancient Greek philosopher Isocrates was born in Athens to a wealthy family, which afforded him the opportunity to obtain an exemplary education, under the tutelage of philosophers such as Prodicus, Tisias, Protagoras, Gorgias, and Socrates.³⁹ In 392 BC, Isocrates became the first philosopher in the history of Greece to open a school of speech, wherein he instructed an educational program he referred to as *philosophia*.⁴⁰ The purpose of Isocrates' *philosophia*, was to provide an education that would enable students to enact "*phronesis* [i.e., practical wisdom] rhetorically and performatively," in order to direct the polis "to new possibilities of human progress."⁴¹ Isocrates' *paideia* (i.e., educational curriculum) was based on his view that civic life and education were "inseparable" and thus endeavored to prepare his students for "effective leadership" and active participation in political life.⁴² The works *Against the Sophists* and *Antidosis*, offer the best insight on the structure and elements of Isocrates *paideia*. In *Against the Sophists*, Isocrates defines elements of his pedagogical program, one of which is mimesis, stating that "the teacher, for his part . . . must in himself set such an example

³⁹ Goodwin F. Berquist, "Isocrates of Athens: Foremost Speech Teacher of the Ancient World," *The Speech Teacher* 8, no. 3 (September 1959): 252, doi:10.1080/03634525909377027.

⁴⁰ William L. Benoit, "Isocrates on Rhetorical Education", in *Communication Education* 33, no. 2 (April 1984): 116, doi:10.1080/03634528409384727; Ekaterina V. Haskins, *Logos and Power in Isocrates and Aristotle*, Studies in Rhetoric/communication (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2004), 31; Berquist, "Isocrates of Athens," 253.

⁴¹ Takis Poulakos, "Isocrates' Civic Education and the Question of Doxa," in *Isocrates and Civic Education*, ed. Takis Poulakos and David J. Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 61.

⁴² Josiah Ober, "I, Socrates. . . The Performative Audacity of Isocrates' *Antidosis*," in *Isocrates and Civic Education*, ed. Takis Poulakos and David J. Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 26; Haskins, *Logos and Power*, 4; Charles Marsh, *Classical Rhetoric and Modern Public Relations: An Isocratean Model*, Routledge Research in Public Relations (New York: Routledge, 2013), 124.

of oratory that the students who have taken form under his instruction . . . are able to pattern after him.”⁴³ Hence, mimesis played a pivotal role in Isocrates’ pedagogy, as he utilized his orations as models for his students to imitate, calling his discourses *technai* (i.e., sources for instruction).⁴⁴ Isocratic mimesis required adherence to particular nuances, in order to be properly executed. For instance, students were instructed to imitate models in a creative and *kairos*-infused manner, as Isocrates rejected the notions of “slavish” and “literal” imitation.⁴⁵ In *Antidosis*, Isocrates explicitly states his opinion of those who blindly copy models as if they were “letters of the alphabet,” stating that those who “repeat the things which have been said in the past . . . [without appropriate modification for the present] will be regarded as shameless babblers.”⁴⁶ Similarly, in *Against the Sophists*, Isocrates states, “what has been said by one speaker is not equally useful for the speakers who come after him.”⁴⁷ For although Isocrates believes that knowledge of the past can aid in solving the problems of today, he cautions that the selection of models must be a mindful process with selective circumstantial adaptation and application. In *Panathenaicus*, Isocrates proclaims that “men who have superior endowments . . . [are] able to learn the most of what has been discovered before their time” and similarly, in *Panegyricus*:

One must not shun the subjects upon which others have spoken before, but must try to speak better than they. For the deeds of the past are, indeed, an inheritance common to us all; but the ability to make proper use of them at the appropriate

⁴³ Isocrates, “Against the Sophists,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1929), sec. 17–20.

⁴⁴ Niall Livingstone, “The Voice of Isocrates and the Dissemination of Cultural Power,” in *Pedagogy and Power: Rhetorics of Classical Learning*, ed. Niall Livingstone and Yun Lee Too, Ideas in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 270; Kathryn Morgan, “The Education of Athens: Politics and Rhetoric in Isocrates and Plato,” in *Isocrates and Civic Education*, ed. Takis Poulakos and David J. Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 126; Marsh, *Classical Rhetoric*, 138.

⁴⁵ Marsh, *Classical Rhetoric*, 152; Robert Hariman, “Civic Education, Classical Imitation, and Democratic Polity,” in *Isocrates and Civic Education*, ed. Takis Poulakos and David J. Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 222–223.

⁴⁶ Isocrates, “Against the Sophists,” sec. 9–11; Isocrates, “Antidosis,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1929), sec. 82–84.

⁴⁷ Isocrates, “Against the Sophists,” sec. 11–14.

time, to conceive the right sentiments about them in each instance, and to set them forth in finished phrase, is the peculiar gift of the wise.⁴⁸

Thus, it is through the selective choice of models and their creative adaptation, given the circumstances at hand, that Isocrates' mimetic pedagogy provides students with the necessary rhetorical abilities to articulate *logoi* (i.e., reasoned arguments) persuasively and with a mindfulness of circumstance in their respective city's deliberative arenas as "political agent[s]."⁴⁹

It is important to note that Isocrates' *paideia* was based "ultimately" on *logos*, with a "principal focus" on the instruction of *logos politikos* (i.e., political discourse).⁵⁰ In *To Alexander*, Isocrates argues that those who obtain an education based in *logos* act "wisely," indicating that it "is of use in the practical affairs of everyday life and aids us when we deliberate concerning public affairs . . . [and that through *logos*] you will come to know how at the present time to form reasonably sound opinions about the future . . . [and] how to form correct judgments."⁵¹ Isocrates sought to instill in his students the skillful ability to articulate *logos politikos* with their fellow citizens, as the *logos politikos* could not be spoken by the individual, but rather by the citizenry.⁵² In addition, this type of discourse may only "*be imitated* [and] *never*

⁴⁸ Isocrates, "Panathenaicus," in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1929), sec. 205–209; Isocrates, "Panegyricus," in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. I (London: William Heinemann, 1928), sec. 8–11.

⁴⁹ Haskins, *Logos and Power*, 80; John Poulakos, "Rhetoric and Civic Education: From the Sophists to Isocrates," in *Isocrates and Civic Education*, ed. Takis Poulakos and David J. Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 69.

⁵⁰ Henri-Irénée Marrou, *A History of Education In Antiquity*, trans. George Lamb, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 81; Takis Poulakos, "Isocrates' Use of *Doxa*," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 34, no. 1 (2001): 62, doi:10.1353/par.2001.0004.

⁵¹ Isocrates, "To Alexander," in *Isocrates*, trans. Larue Van Hook, vol. III (London: William Heinemann, 1945), sec. 4–5.

⁵² Hariman, "Civic Education," 225.

spoken directly,” as it is the result of a collaborative and creative interaction of “speakers and audiences,” eloquently stating “who they are and what they should do.”⁵³

Thus, logos played a central role in Isocrates’ *paideia*, due to the crucial role it played within civic life, as a “guiding function” for “social action.”⁵⁴ The importance and power Isocrates attributes to logos is emphatically presented within a section of *Nicocles or the Cyprians*, referred to as the “hymn to logos,” wherein logos is offered as the reason “we [have] escaped the life of wild beasts . . . come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and . . . there is no institution devised by man which the power of [logos] has not helped us to establish.”⁵⁵ The hymn to logos and a selection from *To Alexander*, reveal that for Isocrates, logos is intrinsically linked to humanity and through the cultivation of logos, citizens may assist their city in making wise choices, through engaging in “reasoned political debate.”⁵⁶ An important characteristic of Isocratic logos highlighted in the hymn to logos, is its capability to stimulate *συνέρχεσθαι* (*synerchesthe*). Isocrates acknowledged that logos could be a source of social unification and as such, produce centripetal affects.⁵⁷

Consequently, Isocrates instructed his students in how to deliver logos in such a manner that their performance would be capable of spurring *synerchesthe*, which would serve as a source of social unification, binding the *demos* together into a “political community.”⁵⁸ Isocrates described three related actions to indicate how the unity formation of *synerchesthe* may be

⁵³ Takis Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis: Isocrates’ Rhetorical Education* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2008), 68; Poulakos, “Isocrates’ Civic Education,” 61–62; Hariman, “Civic Education,” 225. The *logos politikos* combines “both *eu legein* (the art of speaking well) and *eu phronein* (prudential thinking).”

⁵⁴ Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 18; Kathleen E. Welch, *Electric Rhetoric: Classical Rhetoric, Oralism, and a New Literacy*, Digital Communication (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1999), 31.

⁵⁵ Isocrates, “Nicocles or the Cyprians,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. I (London: William Heinemann, 1928), sec. 6–7.

⁵⁶ Morgan, “Education of Athens,” 145.

⁵⁷ Ekaterina V. Haskins, “Logos and the Power in Sophistical and Isocratean Rhetoric,” in *Isocrates and Civic Education*, ed. Takis Poulakos and David J. Depew (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 97.

⁵⁸ Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 16. Social unification, particularly panhellenism, was of much importance to Isocrates, due to a multitude of socio-political problems that plagued Greece. Poulakos, “Rhetoric and Civic Education,” 78; Hariman, “Civic Education,” 225–226.

invoked through “coming together deliberatively”: first, collective inquiry; second, deliberation; and third, alliance formation.⁵⁹ Isocratic logos endeavored to unite fragmented and isolated citizens through *synerchesthe*, and interpellate them, in an Althusserian sense, “as political agents,” in order to facilitate their exertion of “political agency.”⁶⁰ Accordingly, Isocrates’ *paideia* also served as a theory of “political action in a democratic community,” through defining democracy as a collaborative and deliberative “cultural practice,” he formed his students into respectable citizens who were capable of contributing to the deliberations of the polis.⁶¹ Therefore, Isocrates’ pedagogical use and conceptualizations of mimesis and logos will aid in analyzing how the 15-M memplex was transmitted among participants of this protest group and those who came into contact with it, through the media or online, and subsequently replicated it on a national level.

The present study interprets 15-M’s protest logoi as catalysts for *synerchesthe* that united Spanish citizens on-line through social media sites and in deliberative public assemblies to come together for collective inquiry and deliberation upon the problems 15-M was protesting (e.g., unemployment and political corruption). This selection from the 15-M manifesto highlights how *synerchesthe* functioned in their deliberative spaces on-line and in the city:

We recovered and utilize the public space: we occupied the squares and the streets of our cities to meet and work in a collective, open and visible way. We inform and invite every citizen to participate. We debate problems, look for solutions and organize actions and mobilizations. Our digital networks and tools

⁵⁹ Gordon R. Mitchell and Kathleen M. McTigue, “Translation through Argumentation in Medical Research and Physician-Citizenship,” *The Journal of Medical Humanities* 33, no. 2 (June 2012): 92–93, doi:10.1007/s10912-012-9171-y; Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 19.

⁶⁰ Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 21.

⁶¹ Haskins, *Logos and Power*, 134; Hariman, “Civic Education,” 226.

*are open: all the information is available on the Internet, in the streets and in the squares.*⁶²

This quote elucidates that debate served as a central practice in the functioning of 15-M and thus, *synerchesthe* was able to produce alliance formation among participants, which resulted in their interpellation into political agents uniting into a political community of *indignados* (indignant ones). The deliberative *asambleas* that occurred in 15-M's *acampadas* created an environment that facilitated the development and growth of the 15-M memplex into an increasingly more complex incubator of 15-M memes. Memes from the 15-M memplex were eventually replicated on a national level by follow-on groups and, although out of the scope of the present study, internationally, in social revolutions, such as in Israel, Greece, and the United States.⁶³ Obtaining a thorough understanding of how 15-M formed and functioned is critical in order to properly analyze the replication of the 15-M memplex by the over 50 protest groups that formed after the inspirational formation of 15-M. To understand how and why this

⁶² Perugorria and Tejerina, "Politics of the Encounter," 13.

⁶³ B. Baumgarten, "Geração À Rasca and Beyond: Mobilizations in Portugal after 12 March 2011," *Current Sociology* 61, no. 4 (April 17, 2013): 464, doi:10.1177/0011392113479745; Lev Luis Grinberg, "The J14 Resistance Mo(ve)ment: The Israeli Mix of Tahrir Square and Puerta Del Sol," *Current Sociology* 61, no. 4 (April 17, 2013): 493–494, doi:10.1177/0011392113479748; Uri Gordon, "Israel's 'Tent Protests': The Chilling Effect of Nationalism," *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (August 2012): 350, doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.708832; Aya Shoshan, "We Want a Change in the Priorities, the System: We Want Democracy Now!," *Palestine-Israel Journal of Politics, Economics & Culture* 18, no. 2/3 (2012): 156, 158–159; Nikos Sotirakopoulos and George Sotiropoulos, "'Direct Democracy Now!': The Greek Indignados and the Present Cycle of Struggles," *Current Sociology* 61, no. 4 (April 17, 2013): 446, doi:10.1177/0011392113479744; Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, "Infuriated with the Infuriated? Blaming Tactics and Discontent about the Greek Financial Crisis," *Current Anthropology* 54, no. 2 (April 2013): 200, doi:10.1086/669855; Stefano Passini, "The Facebook and Twitter Revolutions: Active Participation in the 21st Century," *Human Affairs* 22, no. 3 (June 25, 2012): 301, doi:10.2478/s13374-012-0025-0; Sarah Gaby and Neal Caren, "Occupy Online: How Cute Old Men and Malcolm X Recruited 400,000 US Users to OWS on Facebook," *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (August 2012): 368, doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.708858; Jan Rehmann, "Occupy Wall Street and the Question of Hegemony: A Gramscian Analysis," *Socialism and Democracy* 27, no. 1 (March 2013): 3, doi:10.1080/08854300.2012.759744; Jeffrey S. Juris, "Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere: Social Media, Public Space, and Emerging Logics of Aggregation," *American Ethnologist* 39, no. 2 (May 8, 2012): 275, doi:10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01362.x; Laura Grattan, "Pierre Bourdieu and Populism: The Everyday Politics of Outrageous Resistance," *Good Society Journal* 21, no. 2 (2012): 213, http://muse.jhu.edu/login?auth=0&type=summary&url=/journals/good_society/v021/21.2.grattan.html; Wade Rathke, "The Global Substructure Beneath the Occupy Movement," *Social Policy* 41, no. 4 (2011): 84.

phenomenon has occurred, the present study will examine the memetic, rhetorical, and argumentative interrelation between 15-M and four of the over fifty follow-on groups.

In this thesis, artifacts for analysis include photographs, content from social media websites, previously published oral history interviews and analyses, and blog entries. The analyses conducted in this work have been informed and shaped on a interpretive level by oral history interviews conducted by the author in July 2014 in Madrid, Spain with doctors, nurses, and medical personnel who actively participate in the Marea Blanca, one of the four follow-on groups examined herein. The questions presented in these interviews were formulated based on the guidelines proposed by the Spanish manual *Historia oral y desviación* (Oral History and Digression) by Fernando Gil Villa and José Ignacio Antón Prieto. These questions were organized into three categories: 1) preliminary questions (e.g., name and number years of experience in healthcare), 2) perspectives on physician citizenship (e.g., defining physicians' responsibilities versus those of a citizen and interpreting Marea Blanca symbols), and 3) protest activity (e.g., explaining the Marea Blanca's influences and describing the Marea Blanca's memetic behavior). Although the interviews were guided by the aforementioned questions types, improvisation was common and an open conversation dynamic was encouraged.⁶⁴ The following section will describe the organization of the forthcoming chapters. The following section will describe the organization of the forthcoming chapters.

1.1.3 Chapter Organization

This thesis is comprised of five chapters, including the present introductory chapter. The

⁶⁴ Fernando Gil Villa and José Ignacio Antón Prieto, *Historia Oral Y Desviación*, Manuales Universitarios, 70 (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 2000), 34. The University of Pittsburgh's Department of Communication excludes oral histories from Institutional Review Board (IRB) review, owing to a 2004 agreement between the Department of Communication and the IRB.

subsequent three content chapters are thematically organized in terms of the following three memes: “*Indignate*” (Become Outraged), “*Acampada*” (Encampment), and “*Malestar Económico*” (Economic Malaise). The beginning portion of the three aforementioned chapters is written in the structure of a teleological narrative that simultaneously presents pertinent information for the intended analysis of each respective chapter, while also providing a descriptive historical narrative of 15-M’s development.

Chapter two, *Indignate*, begins by exploring the interpellative logoi of 15-M and moves to discuss how they contributed to the growth of acampadas and the creation of unity among protestors. In this chapter, the replication of 15-M’s meme of interpellative argumentation will be considered within the context of the discourse of each of the selected follow-on groups, obtaining theoretical support from Michael Calvin McGee, Louis Althusser, and Isocrates.

Further developing the descriptive and historical narrative of 15-M, chapter three, *Acampada*, continues 15-M’s story by focusing on its occupation of public plazas and creation of acampadas. Moreover, in this chapter, special attention will be given to the deliberative communication practices that were performed in physical and virtual spaces. Within the context of the four follow-on groups, the meme of occupation will be examined, focusing on how this meme has or has not been replicated in the protest practices of the follow-on groups. Chapter three employs theorizations by Hannah Arendt, Judith Butler, and G. Thomas Goodnight to support its analysis.

Moving into the penultimate section, chapter four, titled *Malestar Económico*, is concerned with one particular theme that pervaded much of 15-M’s discourse during its acampadas: economics. This chapter examines visual and verbal characteristics of various economically-influenced images (i.e., memes) produced by 15-M and the four selected follow-on groups,

employing concepts and theories by Roland Barthes, Laurent Jenny, and Cynthia Hahn. Examining the representations of the meme of *malestar económico* with a semiological lens, this chapter endeavors to show how this perspective, or state of being, is replicated by the follow-on groups.

Finally, the concluding chapter will address and re-contextualize the three central research questions proposed in this study, within the context of the findings produced from this thesis. In addition, it will provide a summary and critique of the individual findings of each chapter and identify areas for further research.

2.0 INDÍGNATE

In the summer of 2011, Spain had a youth unemployment rate of 45%, out of which 650,000 were below the age of 30 and neither worked nor studied.¹ This growing group of young people is referred to as the “*ni-ni*,” *ni estudia ni trabaja* (“neither-nor,” neither studies nor works).² In 2011, the Spanish labor market presented multiple challenges for young people, such as being paid in *dinero negro* (off the books) and providing an “abundance of *contratos-basura*,” which are employment contracts that pay low salaries and have a tendency to engage in illegal treatment toward employees.³ Concurrently, in the public university system, “a visible deterioration” in the quality and accessibility occurred with the onset of the large hike in tuition fees and scholarship cutbacks.⁴ Difficulties also abounded in the Spanish economic sector, which was experiencing a financial crisis due to a number of factors (e.g., the bursting of the Spanish real-estate bubble and the international financial crisis).⁵ Amid this economic, social, and

¹ Taibo, “Spanish Indignados,” 156.

² Sharon R. Roseman, “Unemployment and Labor Migration in Rural Galicia (Spain),” *Dialectical Anthropology* 37, no. 3–4 (November 17, 2013): 401–402, doi:10.1007/s10624-013-9319-9; César Santos Blázquez, “¿Por Qué No Arden Las Calles Con Una Sociedad Tan Quemada?: Movilizaciones En El Estado Español En Época de Recortes,” *Intersticios: Revista Sociológica de Pensamiento Crítico* 7, no. 1 (2013): 386, <http://www.intersticios.es/article/view/11246>.

³ Taibo, “Spanish Indignados,” 156.

⁴ Perugorria and Tejerina, “Politics of the Encounter,” 427; Taibo, “Spanish Indignados,” 156.

⁵ Castañeda, “Indignados of Spain,” 310; Andrea Éltető, “The Economic Crisis and Its Management in Spain,” *Eastern Journal of European Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 41, 45, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1903981; Mario Espinoza Pino, “Politics of Indignation: Radical Democracy and Class Struggle beyond Postmodernity,” *Rethinking Marxism* 25, no. 2 (April 2013): 234–235, doi:10.1080/08935696.2013.769358; Irene Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados: For a Better Representative Democracy, and More,” *Inroads: A Journal of Opinion* no. 32 (2013): 66; Sebastián Royo, “After the Fiesta: The

political turmoil, the internet-based Spanish platform ¡*Democracia Real YA!* issued a nationwide call for mobilization through social media, to be held on May 15, 2011.⁶

This demonstration was set to occur one week prior to the *elecciones municipales* (municipal elections) and those of the *comunidades autónomas* (autonomous federal regions of Spain), in order to protest issues such as “corruption of the political parties,” high unemployment levels, and governmental “mismanagement” of the economic crisis.⁷ Demonstrations occurred in over 50 Spanish cities, with the participation of hundreds of thousands of Spanish citizens.⁸ In Madrid, on the evening of May 15, following the close of the ¡*Democracia real YA!* demonstration in Puerta del Sol, a group of over 30 individuals continued their protest by spending the night in the plaza and sending out the following tweet from their newly-created Twitter account, @acampadasol: “*Acabamos de acampar en la Puerta del Sol de Madrid, no nos vamos hasta que lleguemos a un acuerdo. #acampadaSol*” (We’ve just camped in Madrid’s Puerta del Sol, we are not leaving until we arrive at an agreement. #acampadaSol).⁹ This decision

Spanish Economy Meets the Global Financial Crisis,” *South European Society and Politics* 14, no. 1 (March 2009): 28, doi:10.1080/13608740902995828.

⁶ Mayo Fuster Morell, “The Free Culture and 15M Movements in Spain: Composition, Social Networks and Synergies,” *Social Movement Studies* 11, no. 3–4 (August 2012): 387, doi:10.1080/14742837.2012.710323; Perugorria and Tejerina, “Politics of the Encounter,” 428; Serrano Casado, “New Technologies,” 27, 30.

⁷ Alberto Corsín Jiménez and Adolfo Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” *Anthropology Today* 27, no. 4 (August 1, 2011): 20, doi:10.1111/j.1467-8322.2011.00818.x; Sánchez Cedillo, “15M,” 573–574; Serrano Casado, “New Technologies,” 27.

⁸ Christina M. Ceisel, “Between Home and Away: Identifying Ourselves within the Margins,” *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 13, no. 3 (February 21, 2013): 159, doi:10.1177/1532708613477369; Perugorria and Tejerina, “Politics of the Encounter,” 428; Serrano Casado, “New Technologies,” 29.

⁹ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 20; Florián Manuel Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” in *El Descontento Social Y La Generación IN: 15M: In-Conformismo in-Ternacionalizado: In-Estabilidad, in-Dignación, in-Ternet*, Sociologías (Madrid: Editorial Popular, 2013), 112; Eduardo Romanos, “‘Esta Revolución Es Muy Copyleft’: Entrevista a Stéphane M. Grueso a Propósito Del 15M,” *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements* 4, no. 1 (2012): 186, <http://www.interfacejournal.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Interface-4-1-Romanos.pdf>; Ana Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M. Los Hechos: Una Crónica Del 15-M,” in *Las Voces Del 15-M*, Panfletos Del Lince (Barcelona: Los Libros del Lince, 2011), 12; Acampadasol, Twitter post, May 15, 2011, 6:55 p.m., <https://twitter.com/acampadasol/status/69943968942653440>.

would lead to the formation of the protest group known as 15-M and the creation of Acampada Sol (Sol Encampment).¹⁰

At the beginning of the protestors' third day in Puerta del Sol, on May 17 at 5:30 A.M., police arrived and evicted those who were sleeping in the plaza.¹¹ However, the individuals in the acampada had already anticipated police intervention and thus had in place a strategy for handling a potential eviction by police.¹² Their plan was to film the actions of the police with their smartphones and upload the footage onto social media platforms while the eviction transpired.¹³ In one video of the May 16 eviction uploaded onto YouTube, one can hear protestors chanting "*no a la violencia*" (no to violence) while police forcibly clear the acampada.¹⁴

Following their eviction, protestors organized a demonstration for later that day, May 17, in Puerta del Sol.¹⁵ That evening, thousands of protestors arrived in Puerta del Sol "to show their support" and protest against the "*violento*" (violent) police eviction from that morning; solidarity protests were also organized in other Spanish cities.¹⁶ Many of the protestors who arrived that

¹⁰ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 20; Romanos, "'Esta Revolución Es Muy Copyleft,'" 186.

¹¹ Vanesa Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona Desde La Ciudad Del Sol," in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 78; Observatorio Metropolitano, *Crisis Y Revolución En Europa*, Lemur: Lecturas de Máxima Urgencia (Madrid: Traficantes de Sueños, 2011), 113.

¹² Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 20.

¹³ Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona," 78; Pérez, "15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico," 112.

¹⁴ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 20; "Poli nos echa de la Puerta del Sol acampadasol," YouTube video, 8:45, posted by "Adriana Mateos," May 16, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_5Vm48Eeb_Y.

¹⁵ Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 12; Observatorio Metropolitano, *Crisis Y Revolución*, 113; Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona," 79.

¹⁶ Martín Cortés, "Spain's Indignados," 67; Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona," 79; Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 14–15; Pérez, "15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico," 113; Spanish Revolution, Facebook events page, accessed July 17, 2014, <https://www.facebook.com/events/173217846065455>.

night in Madrid came prepared to recommence the police-disrupted *ocupación* (occupation) of Sol and began to re-build the *acampada*, notwithstanding police prohibition.¹⁷

The occupation of public space in Spain has a number of historical antecedents. This practice most notably began in the mid 1980s, after the democratic transition, with the rise of “*okupas*” (occupiers), a play on the conventional spelling of the verb *ocupar* (to occupy).¹⁸ During the 1980s, *okupaciones* (occupations) were performed to protest “housing and other shortages.”¹⁹ These *okupaciones* formed part of the *Movida madrileña* (Madrilian scene), a countercultural movement based primarily in Madrid.²⁰ In the early 1990s, *Plataforma 0,7* (Platform 0.7) created *acampadas* throughout the country to pressure the governing political party of the time, the PSOE (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party), to “honor its pledge” of placing aside 0.7% of Spain’s GDP for foreign aid.²¹

To resume, that weekend, the *Elecciones Autonómicas y Municipales de España de 2011* (Autonomous and Regional 2011 Elections of Spain) were to be held, presenting new legal challenges for the indignados. On May 18, the *Junta Electoral Provincial de Madrid* (Provincial Electoral Board of Madrid) announced its official prohibition of a demonstration intended to be held that evening, at 20:00 hours in Sol, on the basis that such a protest “*puede afectar a la campaña electoral y a la libertad de voto de los ciudadanos*” (can affect the electoral campaign and the free vote of the citizens); similar prohibitions were declared in other areas, such as Seville and Asturias.²² The following day, May 19, the *Junta Electoral Central* (Central Electoral

¹⁷ Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 15; Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” 113; Toscano, “Testimonio En Primera Persona,” 79.

¹⁸ Parvati Nair, “The Body Politic of Dissent: The Paperless and the Indignant,” *Citizenship Studies* 16, no. 5–6 (August 2012): 788–789, doi:10.1080/13621025.2012.698508.

¹⁹ Nair, “Body Politic of Dissent,” 788–789.

²⁰ Nair, “Body Politic of Dissent,” 788–789.

²¹ Hughes, “Young People,” 412.

²² Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 20; Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” 113; “La Junta Electoral prohíbe la concentración de Sol que aún así acaba celebrándose,” RTVE, last modified May 18,

Board) declared the protests organized by 15-M to be held on May 21 and 22 to be illegal, in light of their opposition to the electoral legislation of the country.²³ The *Ley Orgánica del Régimen Electoral General* (Organic Law of the General Electoral System) stipulates that all campaign activity cease 24 hours prior to the Election Day, in order to allow for a day known as *Día de reflexión* (Reflection Day).²⁴

However, the indignados did not allow these governmental restrictions to change their course of action, which involved maintaining the acampadas through the complete election period.²⁵ The Spanish Government's imposed restrictions in fact helped buoy 15-M's "popular support," thereby increasing its "media visibility" and "mobiliz[ing] and draw[ing]" more people into the plazas.²⁶ Antonio López, a member of DRY, when commenting on DRY's role in the events in Sol following the May 15 demonstration stated: "*prendimos la mecha . . . pero esto ya es espontáneo, la gente ha reaccionado*" (we lit the fuse . . . but this is now spontaneous, the people have reacted).²⁷

Between Friday night of May 20 and Saturday, May 21, on *Día de reflexión*, approximately 30,000 people filled Acampada Sol.²⁸ By Monday, May 23, acampadas across the

2011, <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20110518/junta-electoral-prohibe-concentracion-sol-aun-asi-acaba-celebrandose/433323.shtml>.

²³ Pérez, "15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico," 113; "La Junta Electoral Central declara ilegales las manifestaciones del sábado y el domingo," RTVE, last modified May 19, 2011, <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20110519/junta-electoral-central-declara-ilegales-manifestaciones-jornada-reflexion-22/433568.shtml>.

²⁴ Martín Cortés, "Spain's Indignados," 68; Netzai Sandoval Ballesteros, "Las Restricciones a La Libertad de Reunión En Relación Con Las Elecciones En España Y México," *Boletín Mexicano de Derecho Comparado* 136 (2013): 100, <http://biblio.juridicas.unam.mx/revista/pdf/DerechoComparado/136/art/art4.pdf>; Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 20.

²⁵ Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 12; Ariadna Fernández-Planells, "#ACAMPADABCN: El 15M Desde Catalunya," in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 88.

²⁶ Observatorio Metropolitano, *Crisis Y Revolución*, 113; Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 18; Sandra Gonzalez-Bailon, Javier Borge-Holthoefer, and Yamir Moreno, "Broadcasters and Hidden Influentials in Online Protest Diffusion," *American Behavioral Scientist* 57, no. 7 (March 2013): 951, doi:10.1177/0002764213479371; Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 20.

²⁷ Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 14.

²⁸ Martín Cortés, "Spain's Indignados," 68; Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona," 81.

country came to the “consensus” that the acampada model should continue, thereby assuring the steady growth of “#Spanishrevolution” despite its initial challenges.²⁹ In addition, a number of international acampadas formed in solidarity with those in Spain, such as in London and Paris, and led to the global occupation of hundreds of plazas by indignados.³⁰ A key factor that likely contributed to the growth and size of transnational acampadas were 15-M’s protest logoi.

The present study proposes to interrogate how an understanding of argumentation scholar Michael Calvin McGee’s use of the term “moral argumentation” may inform the analysis of 15-M’s protest logoi (i.e., reasoned arguments) and possibly provide an explanation for the exponential growth and endurance of 15-M’s acampadas. Exploration of this question promises to enrich understanding of this term and shed light on how 15-M’s argumentation may have contributed to the processes of collective deliberation and unity formation. McGee first describes moral argumentation in the first of his two unpublished manuscripts on the topic of Isocrates.³¹ In this manuscript, “Isocrates: A Parent of Rhetoric and Culture Studies,” McGee provides no direct definition of moral argumentation; however, some preliminary understandings may be extrapolated from McGee’s use of the term by reading this paper in tandem with the second manuscript, “Choosing A Poros: Reflections on How to Implicate Isocrates in Liberal Theory.” Although the term moral argumentation has been employed in other philosophical contexts, McGee inflects it in a unique and particular way that warrants further study.³²

²⁹ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 20.

³⁰ Pilar Velasco, *No Nos Representan: El Manifiesto de Los Indignados En 25 Propuestas* (Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2011), 24–25; Observatorio Metropolitano, *Crisis Y Revolución*, 114; Salvador Martí I Puig, “Un Nodo Más de La Protesta Global,” in *¡Españemos! Argumentos Desde El 15-M*, Libros de La Catarata (Madrid: Catarata, 2012), 127; Juventud Sin Futuro, *Juventud Sin Futuro*, Asaco (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2011), 82; Rosa María Artal, *La Energía Liberada: El Estallido Social de Un Mundo En Crisis* (Madrid: Aguilar, 2011), 235; “Mapa de las acampadas,” IkiMap, last modified June 15, 2012, <http://www.ikimap.com/map/mapa-de-las-acampadas>.

³¹ Michael Calvin McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric and culture studies,” Mcgeefragments.net, last modified July 06, 2001, <http://mcgeefragments.net/OLD/isocrate.htm>; McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

³² Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action: Reason and the Rationalization of Society*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, vol. 1 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984); Jürgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis*, trans. Thomas

The present chapter aims to (re)construct the meaning of McGee’s “moral argumentation” to support a case study of 15-M’s protest logoi, particularly the group’s protest slogan memes. The following study first presents an overview and discussion of the two abovementioned unpublished manuscripts by McGee that aid in obtaining an understanding of the term “moral argumentation.” Concepts from Marxist philosopher Louis Althusser and Isocrates are also utilized in the reconstruction of this term. Upon presenting a re-contextualized description of McGee’s moral argumentation, later re-termed “Isocratic moral argumentation,” this argumentation practice is employed as a lens of analysis within the context of 15-M’s protest logoi. Following the application of this concept to 15-M’s argumentation, Isocratic moral argumentation will be referred to as a meme of the 15-M memplex, and as such, this chapter will explore the dimensions of memetic replication among the four examined protest groups’ protest memes.

2.1 MORAL ARGUMENTATION

In the first manuscript, “Isocrates: A Parent of Rhetoric and Culture Studies,” McGee argues that Isocrates’ argumentation may be characterized as the “skill and talent of discovering how best to apply *values* to a given circumstance” (emphasis added).³³ McGee’s definition attributes an implicit and intrinsic moral component to Isocrates’ form of argumentation, which is signaled by McGee’s use of the term “values,” a word that connotatively and denotatively carries ethical and

McCarthy (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988); Jürgen Habermas, *Moral Consciousness and Communicative Action*, trans. Christian Lenhardt and Shierry Weber Nicholsen (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990); Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, trans. William Rehg (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996).

³³ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric.”

moral implications.³⁴ McGee contends that for Isocrates, engaging in or performing “moral argumentation encouraged right action.”³⁵ McGee asserts that Isocrates stated that “moral knowledge” could be obtained through studying the “history of public address,” which also serves as a history of “virtue in action.”³⁶ By “public address,” McGee most likely gestures to the classical Greek understanding of the term, encompassing a variety of speeches (e.g., forensic, epideictic, deliberative, encomiastic) that were traditionally delivered at “the law courts, in political assemblies, and on ceremonial occasions at public festivals.”³⁷ Thus, inherent in McGee’s description of this acquisitional process is the salient role history plays in obtaining “moral knowledge,” which is further articulated in the manner in which Isocrates constructed arguments.³⁸

According to McGee, Isocrates used the “exercise of reason” (i.e., *logismo*) to arrive at *logoi* (i.e., reasoned arguments), a process which in the case of Isocrates involved transforming historical knowledge into “present action.”³⁹ In essence, history provides a collection of *topoi* (i.e., “argument schemes”) that may be mimetically altered through *logismo* to arrive at *logoi*.⁴⁰ McGee further nuances Isocrates’ use of *logos* by arguing that Isocrates “established the possibility of performing . . . surgery on ‘culture,’” due to his use of *logos*, citing as evidence his ability to create *logoi* that had the potential to move a group of Athenians to “re-define their Being . . . from the ideology of ‘Being-in’ a polis (‘I am Athenian’) to an ideology of ‘Being-In’

³⁴ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric.”

³⁵ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric.”

³⁶ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric.”

³⁷ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric”; Cornelia Ilie, “Rhetoric, Classical,” ed. Keith Allan and Keith Brown, *Concise Encyclopedia of Semantics* (Boston: Elsevier, 2009), 833.

³⁸ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric.”

³⁹ McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric”; Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 87.

⁴⁰ Frans H. van Eemeren, *Strategic Maneuvering in Argumentative Discourse: Extending the Pragmatic-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation*, *Argumentation in Context* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010), 101–103.

a linguistically-defined culture ('I am Greek')."⁴¹ Further developing this line of thought, McGee propounds that Isocrates was not a cultural "diagnostician" but rather a "surgeon," an assertion that McGee evidences through highlighting that Isocrates did not compose dialogues that illustrated "*how* to find faults in a culture" as had Plato, but rather left examples of employing "principles of moral argumentation to model for positive cultural change" (emphasis added).⁴² McGee concludes this manuscript by proposing that we use Isocrates' *oeuvre* as "resources to see cultural faults and to perform the surgery necessary to repair them."⁴³

In the second manuscript, "Choosing A Poros: Reflections on How to Implicate Isocrates in Liberal Theory," McGee further develops his characterization of Isocrates' form of argumentation through a discussion of the identificatory effects of his logoi.⁴⁴ McGee argues that Althusser's orientation to identification is "analogically" closest to "Isocrates' orientation to his audiences" and thus identifies an important conceptual component to understanding the effects of Isocrates' logoi, "interpellation."⁴⁵ Before exploring "Isocratean interpellation" in greater depth, it may be useful to briefly discuss Althusserian interpellation to allow for a proper contrast of these two forms of hailing.

Louis Althusser introduced the concept of "*Ideological State Apparatuses*" (ISAs) in his 1970 essay, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes toward an Investigation)," built upon the Marxist conception of the State or the State apparatus as a repressive apparatus that functions as a repression machine which perpetuates *bourgeoisie* domination over the proletariat and articulates State power.⁴⁶ By contrast, the State Apparatus itself contains institutions (e.g.,

⁴¹ McGee, "Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric."

⁴² McGee, "Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric."

⁴³ McGee, "Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric."

⁴⁴ McGee, "Choosing A Poros."

⁴⁵ McGee, "Choosing A Poros."

⁴⁶ Louis Althusser, *On Ideology*, trans. Ben Brewster, Radical Thinkers (Falun: Verso, 2008), 11, 14, 16–17.

the army, police, and government) that operate through violence.⁴⁷ Ideological State Apparatuses are a “number of realities which present themselves . . . in the form of distinct and specialized institutions” (e.g., political, legal, and educational systems, the family, religion, and culture) that function by ideology.⁴⁸ The critical difference between Ideological State Apparatuses and what Althusser refers to as the (Repressive) State Apparatus lies in their functioning, with the former relying primarily upon ideology and only secondarily through repression and the latter functioning in the complete inverse.⁴⁹ To illustrate how ideology, defined as “the system of the ideas and representations which dominate the mind of man or a social group” functions in the life of the individual, Althusser introduces the concept of interpellation.⁵⁰ Althusser predicates his conceptualization of interpellation on the premise that ideology exists as a result of the “category of the subject,” given that ideology is destined for “concrete subjects.”⁵¹ Following this assertion, Althusser propounds that “the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects.”⁵² To describe how ideology constitutes subjects, Althusser contends that it operates by recruiting subjects from individuals or by transforming individuals into subjects through “interpellation or hailing.”⁵³ In order to illustrate this action, Althusser provides an example of a police official exclaiming, ““Hey, you there!”” to an individual on the street, compelling him or her to turn around, and by virtue of this action, he or she is interpellated into a subject.⁵⁴

In the second manuscript, McGee argues that Althusser understood interpellation to be a power of the State and consequently “always [a] negative” action, which sharply contrasts with

⁴⁷ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 16–17.

⁴⁸ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 16–17.

⁴⁹ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 18–19.

⁵⁰ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 32, 40.

⁵¹ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 44–45.

⁵² Althusser, *On Ideology*, 44–45.

⁵³ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 48.

⁵⁴ Althusser, *On Ideology*, 48.

the positivity McGee attributes to “Isocratean interpellation.”⁵⁵ McGee describes Althusserian interpellation as “evil [and a] virtually demonic” action in contrast to the “good” Isocratean interpellation, which he terms “positive interpellation.”⁵⁶ For Althusser, “the existence of ideology and . . . interpellation of individuals as subjects are . . . the same thing,” therefore, according to McGee, Althusser “sees” an erasure of subjectivity by contrast to Isocrates, who views subjectivity as a “hard-won acquisition . . . [a] realization of the possibility of Being a subject.”⁵⁷ McGee couches his argument by stating that there exist “many reasons” to justify his use of the term interpellation *vis-a-vis* “Isocratean rhetoric” and cites the following three reasons: 1) both “discuss political struggle,” 2) both “study callings,” and 3) both “understandings of calling are tied to the theory and praxis of power.”⁵⁸ McGee concludes this manuscript with a discussion of how contemporary “Liberalism” has given way to the “the individual,” who has contributed to Western “political and cultural fragmentation.”⁵⁹ For McGee, “the individual” is a “cultural [fault]” of modern democracies, citing America as a geographical region where this phenomenon may be observed.⁶⁰ As such, McGee proposes looking to Isocrates for solutions to repair 21st century disunity by way of Isocratean interpellation and argues that it may produce a “positive becoming of the collective, rather than a negative ceasing-to-be of the individual.”⁶¹

To summarize, upon piecing together elements from both of McGee’s manuscripts, a definition of moral argumentation begins to emerge, one that speaks of moral argumentation as a particular kind of argument practice that exhibits particular characteristics.⁶² It would appear that for McGee, Isocrates’ moral argumentation involved the (communication) process of

⁵⁵ McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

⁵⁶ McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

⁵⁷ McGee, “Choosing A Poros”; Althusser, *On Ideology*, 49.

⁵⁸ McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

⁵⁹ McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

⁶⁰ McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

⁶¹ McGee, “Choosing A Poros.”

⁶² McGee, “Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric.”

transforming *topoi* of the past, through *logismo*, into logoi that appropriately addressed the given oratorical circumstances of the present, producing logoi that had the potential to produce two differing types of interpellative calls. These two types of callings were designed to interpellate either a group of individuals or an individual to engage in a specific deliberative action, yielding a particular communicative outcome. In the case of the individual, this would entail inspiring the individual to engage in *dissoi logoi* (i.e., the internal practice of “pulling apart complex questions by debating two sides of an issue”) in order to form wise judgments.⁶³ In contrast, the deliberative action for a group of individuals would be *synerchesthe* (i.e., a form of interactive collective inquiry and deliberation that leads to the formation of wise judgments and unity).⁶⁴ McGee’s definition may be better understood by contextualizing it in the pedagogical program of Isocrates, as this will illustrate the manner in which McGee’s definition re-articulates pedagogical touchstones and values from Isocrates’ *paideia* and provide greater clarity to McGee’s definition of Isocrates’ moral argumentation, which will henceforth be referred to as “Isocratic moral argumentation.” The following figure provides a visual representation of the structure and components of Isocratic moral argumentation.

⁶³ Gordon R. Mitchell, “Switch-Side Debating Meets Demand-Driven Rhetoric of Science,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 13, no. 1 (2010): 108, doi:10.1353/rap.0.0134.

⁶⁴ Mitchell and McTigue, “Translation through Argumentation in Medical Research and Physician-Citizenship,” 92,96; Mitchell, “Switch-Side Debating,” 108–109, 111; Gordon R. Mitchell, “iSocrates: Student-Led Public Debate as Cultural Technology,” *Controversia* 7, no. 2 (2011): 62–63.

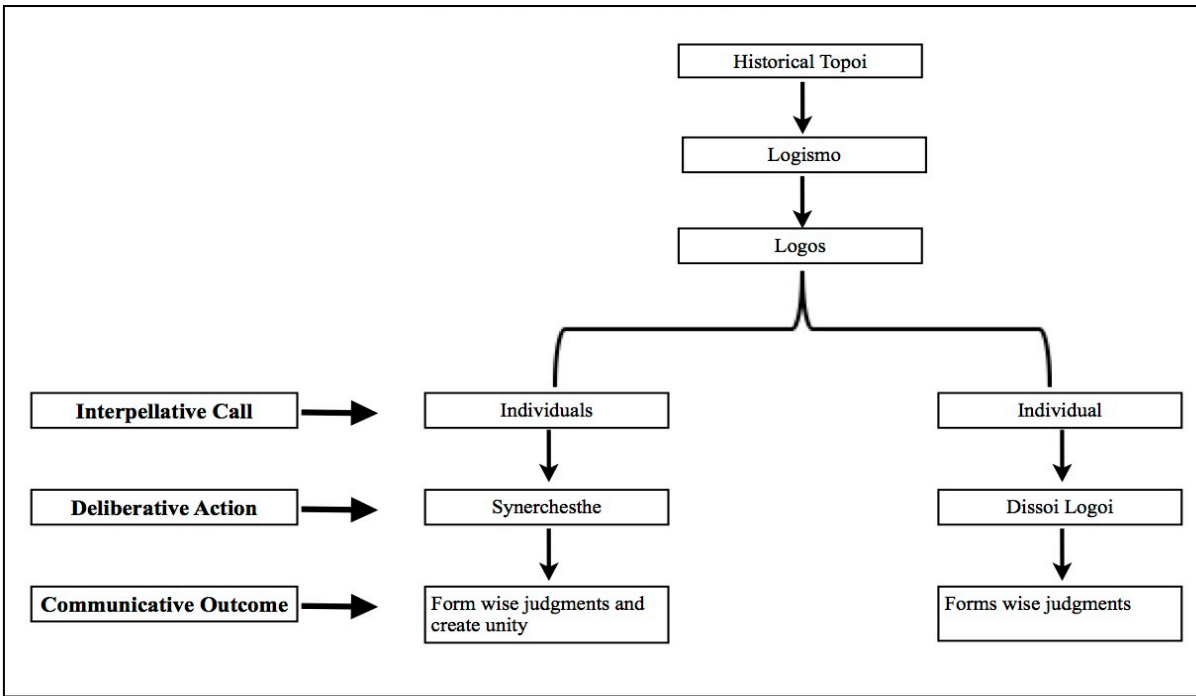


Figure 2. Components of Isocratic Moral Argumentation.

2.2 ISOCRATIC MORAL ARGUMENTATION

The first component of McGee’s Isocratic moral argumentation relates to the process of studying and mimetically transforming historical *topoi* into *logoi* for present and future action, a process articulated in many of what Isocrates terms “moral treatise[s].”⁶⁵ Isocrates’ *paideia* was in perpetual engagement with history, as it served as a cultural text from which *topoi* were extracted, modified, and improved upon, in order to address the given oratorical needs of a situation.⁶⁶ Isocrates did not wish for his students to be “shameless babblers” and merely repeat

⁶⁵ Isocrates, “To Demonicus,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. I (London: William Heinemann, 1928), sec. 3–7.

⁶⁶ Isocrates, “Antidosis,” sec. 82–84; Isocrates, “To Timotheüs,” in *Isocrates*, trans. Larue Van Hook, vol. III (London: William Heinemann, 1945), sec. 7–11; Isocrates, “Areopagiticus,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. II (London: William Heinemann, 1929), sec. 82–84; Isocrates, “Archidamus,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. I (London: William Heinemann, 1928), sec. 96–100; Isocrates, “To Nicocles,” in *Isocrates*, trans. George Norlin, vol. I (London: William Heinemann, 1928), sec. 34–38; Isocrates, “Panegyricus,” sec. 8–11; Isocrates, “To Demonicus,” sec. 11–24, 32–35.

per verbatim “the same things which [had] been said in the past,” but rather to “surpass them.”⁶⁷ This rhetorical practice is most clearly described in *Panegyricus*: “For the deeds of the past are, indeed, an inheritance common to us all; but the ability to make proper use of them at the appropriate time, to conceive the right sentiments about them in each instance, and to set them forth in finished phrase, is the peculiar gift of the wise.”⁶⁸ Isocrates’ *paideia* highlights three important nuances in the creation of new logoi from historical *topoi*. First, this process must not be performed in a hasty manner, but rather, as described in *Antidosis*, through the critical “exercise of reason” or reasoning (i.e., *logismo*), which leads one to be mistaken “less often” in one’s “course of action.”⁶⁹ Second, one should endeavor to mimetically alter and exceed what has “been said in the past” and not blindly copy.⁷⁰ Third, one must not neglect to be mindful of the *kairos* (i.e., opportune timing) of the moment, in order to allow for the effective delivery of logos.⁷¹ Thus, the first component in the process of Isocratic moral argumentation may be understood as an argument creation phase that leads to the second phase: the delivery of logoi.

These newly created logoi have the potential to create two differing types of “Interpellative Call[s]” depending on the audience (i.e., individuals or an individual), which is where a salient distinction arises with regard to how the interpellative component of Isocrates’ logoi functioned. This distinction relates to the disjuncture that occurs with regard to the eventual “Communicative Outcome” of the audience-specific “Interpellative Call[s].” Logoi destined for an audience comprised of individuals were composed in such a way that they would interpellate that group of people to engage in a particular “Deliberative Action” called *synerchesthe*, an important capability of Isocratic logos that is highlighted in a section of *Nicocles or the*

⁶⁷ Isocrates, “Antidosis,” sec. 82–84; Isocrates, “To Timotheüs,” sec. 7–11.

⁶⁸ Isocrates, “Panegyricus,” sec. 8–11.

⁶⁹ Isocrates, “Antidosis,” sec. 290–293.

⁷⁰ Isocrates, “Antidosis,” sec. 290–293.

⁷¹ Isocrates, “Panegyricus,” sec. 8–11.

Cyprians, referred to as the “hymn to logos.” In this passage, logos was offered as the reason “we escaped the life of wild beasts . . . come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and . . . there is no institution devised by man which the power of [logos] has not helped us to establish”.⁷² The hymn to logos reveals that for Isocrates, logos is intrinsically linked to humanity and, through the cultivation of logos, citizens may assist their city in making wise choices through engaging in “reasoned political debate.”⁷³ Isocrates acknowledged that logos could be a source of social unification or disagreement, and as such, produce centripetal or centrifugal effects.⁷⁴ Consequently, Isocrates instructed his students to deliver logos in such a manner that their performance would be capable of spurring *synerchesthe*, which would serve as a source of social unification, binding the *demos* together into a “political community.”⁷⁵ Isocrates described three related actions that indicate how the unity formation of *synerchesthe* may be invoked through “coming together deliberatively”: first, collective inquiry; second, deliberation; and third, alliance formation.⁷⁶ In essence, logoi composed for individuals produced an “Interpellative Call” that could spur the “Deliberative Action” of *synerchesthe*, leading to the “Communicative Outcome” of forming wise judgments through deliberation and creating unity among those participating in the collective deliberation of a given inquiry.

In contrast, the second type of “Interpellative Call” produced through Isocratic moral argumentation is the call directed toward the individual alone. The “Deliberative Action” produced by these has a distinct “Communicative Outcome” that is best represented in Isocrates’ letters *To Alexander*, *To the Children of Jason*, *To Archidamus*, and *To Demonicus and Nicocles*

⁷² Isocrates, “Nicocles or the Cyprians,” sec. 6–7.

⁷³ Morgan, “Education of Athens,” 145.

⁷⁴ Haskins, “Logos and the Power,” 97; Mitchell and McTigue, “Translation through Argumentation in Medical Research and Physician-Citizenship,” 92–93.

⁷⁵ Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 16.

⁷⁶ Mitchell and McTigue, “Translation through Argumentation in Medical Research and Physician-Citizenship,” 92; Poulakos, *Speaking for the Polis*, 19.

or the Cyprians, wherein one may observe the manner in which *logoi* are constructed to interpellate the individual into engaging in the “Deliberative Action” of *dissoi logoi*.⁷⁷ This particular communication action (i.e., *dissoi logoi*) highlights a pervasive component in Isocrates’ *paideia*: debate. Protagoras of Abdera, a key teacher of Isocrates, practiced a politically-infused program of education based on *dissoi logoi* and argumentative practice.⁷⁸ Isocrates, having been influenced by Protagoras’ argumentative-focused pedagogy, interpellated those whom he advised and instructed them to engage in this “Deliberative Action” in order to arrive at the “Communicative Outcome” of forming wise judgments. In *To Demonicus*, Isocrates describes his *paideia* as one that teaches students “how they may win repute as men of sound character . . . [and] improve their moral conduct.”⁷⁹ For Isocrates, engaging in *dissoi logoi* enabled wise decision making and consequently lead to improved “moral conduct.”⁸⁰ In *Nicocles or the Cyprians*, Isocrates contends that “we regard as sage those who most skillfully debate their problems in their own mind” and similarly, in *To the Children of Jason*, “nothing can be intelligently accomplished unless first . . . you reason and deliberate.”⁸¹ The aforementioned passages elucidate the importance of internal deliberation to arriving at a well-formulated judgment and the ultimate “Communicative Outcome” of the “Interpellative Call” directed at the individual. Thus, one may understand Isocratic moral argumentation as the creation of argument(s) that produce(s) nuanced “Interpellative Call[s],” depending on the audience, to

⁷⁷ Isocrates, “To Alexander,” sec. 3–5; Isocrates, “To the Children of Jason,” in *Isocrates*, trans. Larue Van Hook, vol. III (London: William Heinemann, 1945), sec. 6–9, 9–13; Isocrates, “To Archidamus,” in *Isocrates*, trans. Larue Van Hook, vol. III (London: William Heinemann, 1945), sec. 16–19; Isocrates, “To Demonicus,” sec. 32–35; Isocrates, “Nicocles or the Cyprians,” sec. 7–10.

⁷⁸ Bromley Smith, “The Father of Debate: Protagoras of Abdera,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 4, no. 2 (March 1918): 197–199, 202–203, doi:10.1080/00335631809360667.

⁷⁹ Isocrates, “To Demonicus,” sec. 3–7.

⁸⁰ Isocrates, “To Demonicus,” sec. 3–7.

⁸¹ Isocrates, “Nicocles or the Cyprians,” sec. 7–10; Isocrates, “Antidosis,” sec. 253–256, 256–259; Isocrates, “To the Children of Jason,” sec. 6–9.

engage in differing deliberative actions that result in the formation of wise judgments and, in the case of a group of individuals, also unity.

Isocratic moral argumentation is a particularly useful hermeneutical tool for examining how protest argumentation carries the potential to create unity among protest group members. In both of McGee's unpublished manuscripts related to Isocrates, he gestures toward the utility and insightful perspective that may be gained through considering Isocrates's concepts as "resources" that may aid in the analysis of contemporary "political rhetoric."⁸² Similarly, argumentation scholar Gordon Mitchell has also drawn upon Isocratean concepts for the contemporary study of diverse deliberative settings.⁸³ Furthering this theoretical approach, in order to elucidate the hermeneutical merit of Isocratic moral argumentation, this thesis performs a case study of the Spanish protest group 15-M's protest logoi from the summer of 2011, in order to illustrate how this type of argumentation may be performed to create a "positive Becoming of the collective" amid the contemporary milieu of fragmentation.⁸⁴ The following section will focus specifically on how historical *topoi* were transformed into logoi used by 15-M to interpellate people into their protest acampadas, where they engaged in *synerchesthe* and ultimately created unity.

⁸² McGee, "Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric"; McGee, "Choosing A Poros."

⁸³ Mitchell and McTigue, "Translation through Argumentation in Medical Research and Physician-Citizenship"; Mitchell, "Switch-Side Debating"; Mitchell, "iSocrates."

⁸⁴ McGee, "Isocrates: A parent of rhetoric."

2.3 15-M & MAI '68: INTERPELLATIVE MEMES

2.3.1 Isocratic Moral Argumentation— Phase 1

One European social movement in particular had a significant influence on 15-M's arguments: the French protests of *Mai '68* (May '68).⁸⁵ One important source of inspiration for the Mai '68 protests in France were the actions of students from the University of Nanterre (located ten miles outside of Paris).⁸⁶ On March 22, 1968, students from the University of Nanterre occupied a principal administrative building to show their "dissatisfaction" with France's higher education.⁸⁷ Some of the issues at the root of their protest included: the "curriculum," a "distant and authoritarian" teaching style, and the "Americanization" of France's higher education model.⁸⁸ The protest from Nanterre eventually materialized into a movement led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, whose actions (e.g., boycotting classes and organizing protests) led to the temporary closing of the University of Nanterre on May 2, 1968.⁸⁹

On May 3, the protest moved inward, to the center of Paris, where students from the Sorbonne began to occupy their university. Once in Paris, a protest that began due to dissatisfaction with France's higher education soon expanded its motives of discontent (e.g., France's political system and workers' rights) and its protestor demographic (e.g., labor union

⁸⁵ Carles Feixa et al., "El Cine Indignado," in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 199; Ferran Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado: El 15-M Y La Izquierda* (Barcelona: Ediciones Els Llums, 2011), 98.

⁸⁶ Martyn Cornick, "May 1968," ed. Alex Hughes and Keith Reader, *Encyclopedia of Contemporary French Culture* (London: Routledge, 1998), 365; Amanda Bahr-Evola, "May Revolution, France," ed. Gary L. Anderson and Kathryn G. Herr, *Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2007), 920.

⁸⁷ Cornick, "May 1968," 365; Bahr-Evola, "May Revolution, France," 920.

⁸⁸ Cornick, "May 1968," 365; Bahr-Evola, "May Revolution, France," 920.

⁸⁹ Bahr-Evola, "May Revolution, France," 920.

leaders and workers and white-collar workers from the public and private sector).⁹⁰ The protest that metamorphosed in Paris soon spread to “over 150 provincial towns” in France and would come to be known as “Mai ‘68.”⁹¹ As a political force, Mai ‘68 staged multiple demonstrations and a general strike that significantly paralyzed France.⁹² Although some consider Mai ‘68 to be a “non-revolution,” others contend that France and its people were forever transformed by these protests.⁹³ A number of social scientists describe this period as one wherein “poetry ruled the streets,” given that student protestors frequently left “lyrical graffiti” for change throughout the thoroughfares of Paris.⁹⁴

During 15-M’s acampadas, the group acknowledged its connection to Mai ‘68 and created a logos that expressed how it understood itself in relation to this antecedent protest movement. Proof of this historical engagement was documented in Acampada Sol, where a 15-M poster read “*Esto no es mayo del 68: nosotros vamos en serio*” (This is not May ‘68: we mean business), highlighting 15-M’s desire to surpass Mai ‘68, which, as was noted earlier, is considered by some as a “non-revolution.”⁹⁵ 15-M’s commentary on Mai ‘68 evokes a key component of Isocratic moral argumentation: surpassing or exceeding the actions of the past. This very point has been noted by political science scholar, Juan Carlos Monedero, who argues that this particular protest logos evidences that 15-M has learned from the past.⁹⁶ In the following section, two slogans from Mai ‘68 protest graffiti will be examined hereafter to highlight how

⁹⁰ Cornick, “May 1968,” 365–367; Bahr-Evola, “May Revolution, France,” 920–921.

⁹¹ Cornick, “May 1968,” 365–366; Bahr-Evola, “May Revolution, France,” 920.

⁹² Cornick, “May 1968,” 365–366; Bahr-Evola, “May Revolution, France,” 920.

⁹³ Cornick, “May 1968,” 364, 367–368.

⁹⁴ Bahr-Evola, “May Revolution, France,” 921.

⁹⁵ Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 47; Cornick, “May 1968,” 364.

⁹⁶ Juan Carlos Monedero, *Dormíamos Y Despertamos: El 15M, La Reinención de La Democracia* (Madrid: Nueva Utopía, 2012), 128.

15-M engaged in Isocratic moral argumentation: “*Enragez-vous*” (Become outraged) and “*Ne prenez plus l’ascenseur, prenez le pouvoir*” (Stop taking the elevator, take the power).⁹⁷

The first Mai ‘68 historical *topos*, “*Enragez-vous*” (Become outraged), may be categorized as an *argumentum ad passiones* (i.e., “an address to passions” that endeavors to “awaken” particular emotions).⁹⁸ 15-M likely transformed this “Historical Topo[s]” — via “Logismo” — into its protest “Logos”: “*Indígnate ya, sin lucha nadie te escucha*” (Become outraged now, without a fight no one hears you).⁹⁹ 15-M’s new logos employs an argument from consequences (an address that employs consequences, positive or negative — in this case negative — to encourage the acceptance of a particular claim) and simultaneously utilizes emotional appeals.¹⁰⁰ This example illustrates how 15-M converted the affective rage from the Mai ‘68 *topos* into a new argument that channels emotion into a multifaceted interpellative call of affect, identity, and action, while simultaneously replicating, with modification, the emotional appeal of the Mai ‘68 *topos*.

In this example, 15-M’s logos calls individuals to change their affective state to one of outrage (“*Indígnate ya*”), to become an *indignado*, and to move into action (i.e., participate in 15-M’s *acampadas*). The first half of 15-M’s claim achieves a persuasive force by virtue of the second half of the claim (i.e., *sin lucha nadie te escucha*), through describing a negative consequence of inaction: becoming voiceless.

In contrast, the Mai ‘68 *topos* inspiration — “*Enragez-vous*” — does not provide any explicit rationale (e.g., a consequence or benefit), nor explanations for its intended emotional

⁹⁷ Erika Bussetti and Roberto Revello, trans., *Le Parole Del Maggio: Le Scritte Sui Muri Nel Sessantotto Parigino*, Ripensare Il ‘68. (Milan: Mimesis Edizioni, 2008), 44, 78.

⁹⁸ Benjamin Humphrey Smart, *A Manual of Rhetoric, with Exercises for the Improvement of Style or Diction, Subjects for Narratives, Familiar Letters, School Orations, &c.* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, 1848), 5.

⁹⁹ Asun García, “Revolucionarios Con Corazón,” *El Norte de Castilla*, May 21, 2011, <http://www.elnortedecastilla.es/especiales/elecciones/2011/noticias/revolucionarios-corazon-20110521.html>.

¹⁰⁰ Wim J. van der Steen, *A Practical Philosophy for the Life Sciences*, SUNY Series in Philosophy and Biology (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), 42.

incitement, but rather relies upon the existing social reality in France to serve as an interpellative pull to incite citizens to participate in the Mai '68 protest efforts. Similar to "*Enragez-vous*," the second analyzed Mai '68 *topos*, "*Ne prenez plus l'ascenseur, prenez le pouvoir*" (Stop taking the elevator, take the power), employs indirect language and the existing social reality to interpellate French citizens to participate in the Mai '68 protest. The second Mai '68 logos linguistically foregrounds citizens' absence of power, through encouraging their acquisition thereof — "*prenez le pouvoir*"; French citizens' implied disempowerment is further substantiated by the social inequality characteristic of this time period.¹⁰¹

The second selected Mai '68 historical *topos*, "*Ne prenez plus l'ascenseur, prenez le pouvoir*" (Stop taking the elevator, take the power), may be categorized as a metaphorical argument from consequences that employs "positive consequences" to garner acceptance of its claim. 15-M appears to have transmuted this "Historical Topo[s]" — through "Logismo" — into the following new protest "Logos": "*Sin tele, sin cerveza, toma la plaza con cabeza*" (Without TV, without beer, take the plaza with intelligence).¹⁰² In this case, the Mai '68 *topos* and 15-M protest logos employ the same *topos* (i.e., argument from consequences), but with a significant difference: their differing use of consequences.

Whereas the May '68 *topos* relies upon positive consequences to make its claim (as noted above), 15-M's protest logos uses negative consequences, thereby illustrating the manner in which 15-M borrowed, with subtle modifications, Mai '68's protest slogans. Both of the aforementioned slogans present a juxtaposition of apolitical passivity (e.g., taking an elevator, watching television, and drinking beer) and political action (e.g. taking the power and taking the plaza). This juxtaposition compares opposing states of being to create a dichotomy of political

¹⁰¹ Duncan Gallie, *Social Inequality and Class Radicalism in France and Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 53–87.

¹⁰² Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 69.

action and inaction, which becomes interpellative by virtue of the presentation of consequences in each respective slogan.

In the second Mai '68 slogan, if one elects to end his or her “passivity,” he or she will be able to *act* and “take [political] power” (i.e., a positive consequence). As previously indicated, the Mai '68 logos, does not provide direct instructions with regard to how one should “take the power,” instead relying upon circumstantial and existential realities, rhetorically producing an interpellative call lacking direction. It may be inferred that the taking of power advocated in this claim makes metaphorical reference to participating in the protest actions (e.g., going on strike, not attending university classes) organized by Mai '68, thereby, becoming actively engaged in politics and transcending a state of political passivity.

In contrast, 15-M's logos argues through negative consequences that one *cannot* take the plaza unless one ends his or her passivity, thereby producing an interpellative dichotomy (i.e., apolitical passivity and political action). In order to avoid the “negative consequence” (i.e., a state of apolitical passivity) insinuated by this claim, explicit instructions are provided for how one can transcend from passivity to action (i.e., taking the plaza). Unlike the Mai '68 slogan, where power is taken due to a “pre-existing lack thereof,” 15-M's slogan does not explicitly attempt to take power away from an official entity (e.g., a State), but rather chooses to create it implicitly through taking public space (i.e., occupation).

2.3.2 Isocratic Moral Argumentation— Phase 2

In brief, both 15-M slogans, “*Sin tele, sin cerveza, toma la plaza con cabeza*” and “*Indignate ya, sin lucha nadie te escucha,*” although distinct in syntax, employ the same underlying argumentation scheme, argument from negative consequences, to produce their “Interpellative

Call” to *individuals* to come to 15-M’s acampadas. This is dialectically germane, being that 15-M created distinct negative consequences in each logos, which made venturing to 15-M’s acampadas a means to avoid the negative consequences presented in both claims, (i.e., becoming politically voiceless and apolitical passivity) thereby increasing acampada growth and sustaining high participation rates. The aforementioned logoi, in addition to many others, exemplify how 15-M created interpellative logoi from historical *topoi* that brought multitudes of individuals to the group’s acampadas.

The acampadas were a space for *real* politics, where the voices of individuals would be heard and valued, and where individuals were perpetually engaging in the “Deliberative Action” of *synerchesthe*, being that 15-M practiced a culture of debate in its acampadas. Evidence of this culture, which may be categorized as a meme of the 15-M memplex, may be observed in the manner in which virtually all of 15-M’s decisions were made through collective deliberation in *asambleas*, a characteristic which will be discussed further in the following chapter.¹⁰³ One 15-M protestor described the *asambleas* as, “*un espacio de debate al principio, muy importante, se . . . llamaba[n] ágoras, porque era espacio de discutir ideas de trabajar, además poner en común ideas muy contrarias*” (in the beginning, a very important space of debate, they were . . . called *agoras*, because it was a space to discuss working ideas, in addition to reconciling very different ideas).¹⁰⁴ The explicit reference here to the Greek tradition of public squares as places for political debate (the “*agora*”) highlights the salience of Isocratic terminology as a tool to explain 15-M’s protest activity. There were multiple *asambleas* of varying size and topic matters that met

¹⁰³ Pedro Benítez Martín, “¿Democracia O Democracia Virtual? La Red Y Los Movimientos Sociales de 2011,” *Δαίμων-Daimon: Revista Internacional de Filosofía* 58 (2013): 47, <http://revistas.um.es/daimon/article/viewFile/139061/145691>.

¹⁰⁴ Almudena Cabezas, “Asamblea Popular Del 15M En Plaza Dalí: Trabajamos En La Plaza de El Corte Inglés, Trabajamos En Los Intersticios,” *Teknokultura: Revista de Cultura Digital Y Movimientos Sociales* 8, no. 2 (2011): 198, <http://teknokultura.net/index.php/tk/article/view/16/pdf>.

with differing levels of frequency and duration, depending on the needs of a particular acampada.¹⁰⁵

In addition, working groups and commissions formed and held *asambleas* on a wide range of topics such as: feminism, healthcare, politics, economics, the maintenance and infrastructure of acampadas, and internal coordination.¹⁰⁶ This description of 15-M's culture of debate is further emphasized by the corresponding deliberation-focused environment of the acampadas, which allowed for the enactment of the second component of the second phase of Isocratic moral argumentation: the deliberative action of *synerchesthe*. Being that *asambleas* were one of 15-M's primary means of communication, *synerchesthe* was an unavoidable argumentative practice in the acampadas, producing two "Communicative Outcome[s]": 1) *wise judgment* formation and 2) *unity* formation.

In the acampadas, 15-M created a space where wise judgment formation became a collective, participatory, and deliberative goal that is evidenced in a guide created by the Commission of Dynamism from Acampada Sol on the topic of popular assemblies.¹⁰⁷ In this text, the Commission describes an *asamblea* as follows: "*un órgano de toma de decisiones participativo que busca el consenso . . . [y] . . . los mejores argumentos para tomar la decisión más acorde*" (a participatory decision making entity that looks for consensus . . . [and] . . . the best arguments in order to make the most appropriate decision).¹⁰⁸ This statement demonstrates that 15-M understood the purpose of collective deliberation as an argumentative practice that would lead to making the "best" and "most appropriate" decision. Intrinsically imbedded in 15-

¹⁰⁵ Rafael de la Rubia, ed., *Hacia Una rEvolución Mundial Noviolenta: Del 15M Al 15O* (Madrid: Editorial Manuscritos, 2011), 160.

¹⁰⁶ de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rEvolución*, 160–166.

¹⁰⁷ Marisa G. Ruiz Trejo, "Reflexiones Autoetnográficas: Luchas Desde La Diferencia Crítica Y Luchas Por Lo Común," *Revista de Antropología Experimental* 13 (2013): 29, http://www.ujaen.es/huesped/rae/articulos2013/MEI_02_13.pdf; Juan Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados: Propuestas Y Materiales de Trabajo*, Rompeolas (Madrid: Editorial Popular, 2011), 69–89.

¹⁰⁸ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 70.

M's conceptualization of the *asamblea* is an argumentative ideal articulated in Isocratic moral argumentation: the arrival at wise judgment via deliberation with oneself or, in the case of 15-M, with a group of individuals through *synerchesthe*.

Through practicing deliberative argumentation, protestors who participated in the *acampadas* were also able to create unity among each other: the second communicative outcome of Isocratic moral argumentation for groups of individuals. 15-M protestors and scholars alike have commented on the unity the *acampadas* created.¹⁰⁹ To illustrate, one protestor from Madrid's *acampada* said that the Sol *acampada* "*alumbró una comunidad [en] que se hizo auténtica unidad orgánica*" (illuminated a community in which authentic and organic unity was formed).¹¹⁰ This quote further substantiates the assertion that the argumentative practices of the *acampadas* contributed to the creation of unity among protestors and thus reflects a communicative outcome of Isocratic moral argumentation.

This section has considered how 15-M, engaging in what could be called Isocratic moral argumentation, borrowed Mai '68 *topoi* to create new protest *logoi*. Moreover, the concept of Isocratic moral argumentation has helped to explain how new *logoi* served as interpellative calls to attract individuals to 15-M's *acampadas* and engage in the deliberative action of *synerchesthe*. In the *acampadas*, *synerchesthe* produced two communicative outcomes: wise judgment formation and the creation of unity among protestors. These insights illustrate how contemporary

¹⁰⁹ Julia Cañero Ruiz, "Movimiento 15M: La Noviolencia Como Metodología de Acción Y Construcción de Alternativas," in *La Democracia Del Futuro: Del 15M a La Emergencia de Una Sociedad Civil Viva*, ed. Marta Cruells and Pedro Ibarra, Antrazyt, Participación Democrática (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2013), 101; Carmen Costa-Sánchez and Teresa Piñeiro-Otero, "Activismo Social En La Web 2.0: El Movimiento 15M," *Revista de Comunicación Vivat Academia* no. 117E (2012): 1463, <http://www.ucm.es/info/vivataca/numeros/n117E/DATOSS.htm>; Patricia García Espín, "El 15M: De Vuelta Al Barrio Como Espacio de Lo Político," *Revista Internacional de Pensamiento Político* 7 (2012): 300, <http://www.pensamientopolitico.org/Descargas/RIPP07291310.pdf>.

¹¹⁰ Félix Rodrigo Mora, Prado Esteban, and Frank G. Rubio, *Pensar El 15M Y Otros Textos* (Morata de Tajuña: Editorial Manuscritos, 2011), 96. Félix Rodrigo Mora, Prado Esteban, and Frank G. Rubio, *Pensar El 15M Y Otros Textos* (Morata de Tajuña: Editorial Manuscritos, 2011), 96.

protest activity, particularly in Spain, can be understood as an argumentative phenomenon, through the application of a theoretical framework grounded in argumentation theory and classical Greek rhetoric. The following sections explore how, Isocratic moral argumentation, which will be classified as a meme of the 15-M memeplex, was replicated among the four selected protest groups in their respective forms of argumentation.

2.4 A 15-M MEMEPLEX MEME: ISOCRATIC MORAL ARGUMENTATION

2.4.1 Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda (PACD)

The *Grupo de Economía* (Economics Group), from 15-M Logroño, organized a series of economically-themed events on questions related to the economy, in Logroño, Spain in the spring of 2013.¹¹¹ On January 22, 2013, three members from Madrid's node of PACD were invited to impart a lecture and hold a discussion on Spanish debt and their work as a citizen-powered debt auditing platform, as a part of the aforementioned series of events.¹¹² In anticipation of this event, the protest logos "*Auditoria [sic] de la deuda publica [sic], es fácil . . . do it yourself*" was circulated online via the Facebook page of the event organizer, Asamblea Logroño.¹¹³ This slogan appears to have been transformed from the historical *topos* of "Do-It-Yourself" (DIY), a phenomenon that gestures to both a slogan and a culture that developed

¹¹¹ "Do it Yourself (6): AUDITORÍA DE LA DEUDA PÚBLICA," Asamblea Logroño, published January 20, 2013, <http://www.asamblealogrono.org/do-it-yourself-6-auditoria-de-la-deuda/>; Isreal, "Auditoria Ciudadana de la DEUDA PÚBLICA – Charla Coloquio," *Agenda Social de La Rioja Blog*, January 21, 2013, Auditoria Ciudadana de la DEUDA PÚBLICA – Charla Coloquio, <http://agendasocial.info/?p=1531>.

¹¹² Asamblea Logroño, "Do it Yourself."

¹¹³ Asamblea Logroño, Facebook page, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/asamblealogrono/photos/a.209275535780416.49156.205191189522184/491530004221633/?type=1>; Asamblea Logroño, Facebook page, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/events/196028627207872/>.

between the 1940s and 1950s in a post-World War II North America.¹¹⁴ This time period, in particular, has been described as the “‘Age of Do-It-Yourself.’”¹¹⁵ Concurrently, though to a lesser degree, DIY culture also flourished in less “mainstream” social spheres.¹¹⁶ Abroad, in European contexts, the slogan “Do-It-Yourself” received notable use in commercial communication.¹¹⁷ In Spain for example, forms of the DIY movement took hold in the 1960s, roughly twenty years after its initial cultural takeoff in North America.¹¹⁸

The term DIY makes reference to “anything that people [do] . . . for themselves,” in order to avoid outsourcing a task or purchasing a product (e.g., installing Formica tabletops or knitting a sweater oneself).¹¹⁹ By 1954, an article about DIY from *Time* magazine claimed that in North America, Do-It-Yourself had become “[t]he new billion-dollar hobby.”¹²⁰ How-to manuals and product marketing capitalized on this logos, in an effort to appeal to a growing demographic of

¹¹⁴ Cathy D. Smith, “Handymen, Hippies and Healing: Social Transformation Through the DIY Movement (1940s to 1970s) in North America,” *Architectural Histories* 2, no. 1 (March 2014): 1–2, doi:10.5334/ah.bd. There are references to this phrase from as early as 1912.

¹¹⁵ Smith, “Handymen, Hippies and Healing,” 2.

¹¹⁶ Smith, “Handymen, Hippies and Healing,” 2; Juan Ignacio Gallego Pérez, “Do It Yourself: Cultura Y Tecnología,” *ICONO 14* 7, no. 2 (2009): 278–291, <http://www.icono14.net/ojs/index.php/icono14/article/view/327/204>; Ryan Moore, “Postmodernism and Punk Subculture: Cultures of Authenticity and Deconstruction,” *The Communication Review* 7, no. 3 (2004): 305–327, doi:10.1080/10714420490492238; Elke Zobl, Rosa Reitsamer, and Stefanie Grünangerl, “Feminist Media Production in Europe: A Research Report,” in *Feminist Media: Participatory Spaces, Networks and Cultural Citizenship*, ed. Elke Zobl and Ricarda Drücke, Critical Media Studies (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2012), 21–54. From the 1960s to the present, this logos begins to take on a more countercultural and transgressive meaning and association. For example, in Punk (“Punk” refers to a genre of rock music, lifestyle, and identity that developed between the late 1960s and 1970s) subculture “do-it-yourself,” “do-it-yourself ethic,” and/or “DIY ethos” made reference to the “process of creating independent media and interpersonal networks in opposition to the corporate media,” which may be evidenced by the creation of independent record labels and self-produced fanzines or zines (i.e., a nonprofessional magazine often created fans of a particular genre of entertainment or cultural movement) (38). Similarly, within a feminist context, the term “DIY feminism” is defined by gender and media scholar Red Chidgey as an, “umbrella term fusing together different types of feminism,” drawing upon “genealogies of punk cultures, grassroots movements, and the technologies of late capitalism” (38–39).

¹¹⁷ Carmen Rodríguez Pedret, “Mr. Marshall Viene a Casa: La Escenografía de La Modernidad Americana En El Tiempo Del Desarrollismo Español,” in *La Arquitectura Norteamericana, Motor Y Espejo de La Arquitectura Española En El Arranque de La Modernidad (1940-1965)*, ed. José Manuel Pozo Municio and Javier Martínez González, vol. 5 (Pamplona: T6 Ediciones, 2006), 208.

¹¹⁸ Rodríguez Pedret, “Mr. Marshall Viene,” 208; Mariano Fernández Enguita, *Hágalo Usted Mismo: La Cualificación Del Trabajo Doméstico, La Crisis de Su Aprendizaje Y La Responsabilidad de La Escuela*, Investigación (Madrid: Centro de Investigación, Documentación, y Evaluación, 1990), 46.

¹¹⁹ Smith, “Handymen, Hippies and Healing,” 2.

¹²⁰ Smith, “Handymen, Hippies and Healing,” 2.

“do-it-yourselfers.”¹²¹ Despite the gender politics of the time, women had a notable involvement in the DIY movement, even despite DIY’s “increasingly . . . essential [role]” in 1950s masculinity, given that “men’s work stood at the center of the movement, both *discursively* and *materially*” (emphasis added).¹²² Between the 1950s and 1960s, women were more involved with DIY home remodeling tasks than their male counterparts, giving way to *new* marketing efforts to reflect this change in commercial advertising.¹²³ For example, advertisements suggested that for a given DIY home-improvement project, “even a woman could do it,” thereby suggesting the task was “easy.”¹²⁴

In addition, in advertisements, women were often given a role that required less skill and “remarkably consistently” appeared smaller in stature (e.g., kneeling or sitting on the ground) when compared to men.¹²⁵ Companies and manufacturers used women’s greater involvement in more masculine DIY projects to their advantage, to create a persuasive implicit/explicit association between DIY and ease, in an effort to increase the marketability of a given product to their desired demographic (i.e., men). Through exploiting women and further perpetuating oppressive stereotypes and associations, companies and manufacturers constructed a “positive” interrelation and correlation between Do–It–Yourself and effortless, through their marketing communication (e.g., visual and textual commercial media).

In consideration of the aforementioned, returning to how this “Historical Topo[s]”

¹²¹ Smith, “Handymen, Hippies and Healing,” 2–4; David Seth Raizman, *History of Modern Design: Graphics and Products Since the Industrial Revolution* (London: Laurence King, 2003), 339; Julie A. Willett, *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop* (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 140.

¹²² Tania Lewis, *Smart Living: Lifestyle Media and Popular Expertise*, *Popular Culture & Everyday Life* (New York: Peter Lang, 2008), 34; Tracey Deustsch, *Building a Housewife’s Paradise: Gender, Politics, and American Grocery Stores in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 206; Carolyn M. Goldstein, *Do It Yourself: Home Improvement in 20th-Century America* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 65–82.

¹²³ Goldstein, *Do It Yourself*, 71; Deustsch, *Building a Housewife’s Paradise*, 206.

¹²⁴ Goldstein, *Do It Yourself*, 71.

¹²⁵ Goldstein, *Do It Yourself*, 71, 74.

functions within the context of Isocratic moral argumentation, it appears that PACD transformed “Do-It-Yourself” through “Logismo,” to the new “Logos”: “*Auditoria [sic] de la deuda publica [sic], es fácil . . . do it yourself.*” The 1950s historical *topos* of “Do-It-Yourself” — given its highly gendered socio-historical connotations — may be interpreted in this context as an enthymeme (i.e., an argument with “missing (unstated) premises or conclusions”) operating with the following premises:

Major premise: all women are able to complete easy tasks;

Minor premise: Do-it-Yourself projects are completed by women;

“Missing” conclusion: therefore, Do-It-Yourself projects are easy tasks to complete.¹²⁶

PACD’s new logos relies upon the prior historical *topos*’ societally-proliferated and “accepted” conclusion, in order to re-use “Do-It-Yourself” as a “sign” in its new logos, “*Auditoria [sic] de la deuda publica [sic], es fácil . . . do it yourself,*” which may be characterized as an “argument from sign.” This type of argument scheme takes “a particular finding or observation *x* [i.e., the sign] . . . as evidence of the existence of a property or event *E*, in a given situation.”¹²⁷ Accordingly, the inclusion of the phrase, “do it yourself” functions in PACD’s new logos as a *sign* that denotes the “property” of easiness, leading the audience to conclude that Spanish citizens can easily audit Spanish public debt on their own. Through *logismo*, PACD transformed a mid-twentieth century North American commercial historical *topos* into a new logos that functioned as an “Interpellative Call” to the *individual* to audit Spain’s public debt.

PACD’s logos produced a persuasive disjuncture and mixed linguistic juxtaposition that

¹²⁶ Douglas N. Walton, Chris Reed, and Fabrizio Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 18, 189.

¹²⁷ Douglas N. Walton, *Argumentation Schemes for Presumptive Reasoning* (Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1996), 47.

obtained its rhetorical persuasiveness and interpellative force from the implicit indirect demand present in the first part of the claim (i.e., *Auditoria [sic] de la deuda pública [sic]*) that is qualified by the subsequent multilingual phrases “*es fácil*” and “do it yourself,” which serve to further stress the interpellative goal of this logos through emphasizing ease (*es fácil*) to an extreme with ironic humor, through the parody of “Do-It-Yourself.” English scholar Thomas R. Frosch argues that the mood of parody varies and, as such, at times it may be used “for the purpose of critique — satirical parody.”¹²⁸ Through employing “Do-It-Yourself” in their new logos, PACD’s performed a “satirical parody” to both mock capitalistic lingo and simultaneously redeploy the phrase to persuasively encourage the auditing of Spain’s public debt, thereby serving their own ends as a citizen debt auditing platform.

PACD’s new logos transforms the agency of the individual (customer) from one who participates in Spain’s capitalistic economic system to one who audits it. This transformation is achieved by PACD’s invocation and re-signification of the historical *topos* “Do-It-Yourself.” What was once a meme that embodied American capitalistic marketing tactics from the mid-twentieth century is re-signified in PACD’s new logos, thereby challenging its “original” meaning and rhetorical purpose, to one which empowers the individual (customer, female or male) to question capitalism. Instead of becoming a contributor to the capitalistic system, one should audit an effect of its existence (i.e., debt), but also recognize that it is easy to do, hence the satirical parody of “Do-It-Yourself.”

The new logos creates a humorous and ironic persuasive juxtaposition of a task (i.e., auditing a country’s debt) that would appear seemingly impossible, contrasted with encouraging phrases emphatically stressing the ease of this task. This discursive framing presents the auditing

¹²⁸ Julie Campbell, “Moran as Secret Agent,” in *Pastiches, Parodies & Other Imitations*, ed. Matthijs Engelberts, Marius Buning, and Sjeff Houppermans, Samuel Beckett Today/ Aujourd’hui (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), 82.

of Spanish public debt as a feasible task that *anyone* can in fact perform, helping to combat possible reticence stemming from an individual's perceived lack of skill in economics. Whereas in the post-World War II context in which "Do-It-Yourself" was employed for its lucrative potential as a marketing meme to interpellate consumers to purchase a product, those of PACD ironically transform this *topos* from a form of capitalistic interpellation into a new *logos* that produces an interpellative call to the individual to audit a ramification of capitalism, an action which implicitly entails the "Deliberative Action" of *dissoi logoi*.

The action urged by this *logos* is one that the individual is able to perform on his or her own, as emphatically indicated by the phrases, "*es fácil*" and "do it yourself." Once interpellated by the *logos* of PACD, the individual is likely to debate a series of interrelated questions, which require answers prior to performing a "Do-It-Yourself" audit of Spanish public debt. Thus, this interpellative call implicitly demands the deliberative action of *dissoi logoi*, being that to audit Spain's public debt, an internal reflective and deliberative thinking process will likely ensue in two probable respects. First, the individual weighs central questions provoked by PACD's *logos*, (e.g., "Does Spanish public debt need to be audited? Am I the right person?"), in order to determine if the said individual agrees with the interpellative message. Second, once, and if in agreement with PACD's *logos*, a new series of deliberative questions appear: which institution should be audited? whom, specifically, should I audit: person "A" or person "B?"— questions that require further internal deliberation in order to arrive at the best decisions, which, in terms of Isocratic moral argumentation, may be classified as producing the "Communicative Outcome" of *wise judgments*.

Thus, the examined PACD text exemplifies markers of an enactment of Isocratic moral argumentation to the individual rather than to individuals, which was observed in 15-M's

performance of this form of argumentation. This mimetic difference is worth discussing in greater detail, and as such, will be treated with greater attention following the complete discussion of artifacts from the three remaining follow-on groups. The subsequent follow-on group, Yayoflautas/Iaioflautas, also found international inspiration during the creation of their logos. Yayoflautas/Iaioflautas found a creative influence from the same period of time as PACD, however, its origin is not American, but rather Soviet.

2.4.2 Yayoflautas/Iaioflautas

In September 15, 2013, the Murcia node of Yayoflautas organized an information table about pensions in the Plaza del Príncipe, in the district of El Siscar, from the municipality of Santomera.¹²⁹ This event was one of two events organized in Santomera, coordinated in collaboration with *Alternativa por Santomera* (Alternative for Santomera), a neighborhood platform that seeks to find answers to the problems facing the municipality of Santomera.¹³⁰ At this event, members from this node of Yayoflautas helped retired citizens fill out forms to legally request two increases which had been allocated to pensions, which averaged close to 448.00 euros per retiree.¹³¹ In a protest poster from this event, the following logos appears: “*EN DERECHOS SOCIALES, NI UN PASO ATRÁS: NO AL PENSIONAZO*” (IN SOCIAL RIGHTS, NOT ONE STEP BACK: NO TO MAJOR PENSION CUTS).¹³² A portion of this slogan appears

¹²⁹ “Por La Revalorización de Las Pensiones,” *La Revista de Santomera: La Calle* (Santomera, October 2013), 28, <http://www.mcaballero.comunicacion.es/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/La-Calle-126-web.pdf>; Alternativant, “Alternativa no para,” alternativaporsantomera.wordpress.com, published October 17, 2013, <https://alternativaporsantomera.wordpress.com/2013/10/17/alternativa-no-para/>; Yayoflautas de Murcia, Facebook page, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.481137045315269.1073741847.299848593444116&type=3>.

¹³⁰ “¿Qué/Quiénes somos?,” Alternativa por Santomera, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://alternativaporsantomera.wordpress.com/la-plataforma/quequienes-somos/>.

¹³¹ Alternativant, “Alternativa no para”; “Por La Revalorización,” 28.

¹³² Yayoflautas de Murcia, Facebook page.

to have been directly translated from the historical *topos*, “Ни шагу назад” (Not one step back) from Soviet Union leader Joseph Stalin’s 1942 “Order No. 227.”¹³³

Amid the tumult of World War II, this order finds its origin in July of 1942, following the forceful occupation of Soviet territory by German forces.¹³⁴ In the wake of the fall of Rostov to the Germans, people’s disappointment loomed over the Red Army and army discipline started to deteriorate (e.g., soldiers self-inflicted wounds to avoid facing the Germans and units abandoned their weapons and equipment).¹³⁵ Against this background of an “acute crisis,” Stalin issued “Order No. 227,” which called for the execution of “panic mongers, deserters, and retreating units.”¹³⁶ In the Order, Stalin contends that retreat, in any form, is not an option and that all those who are not compliant with this stance “must be eliminated.”¹³⁷

In the actual Order, the phrase, “Not one step back,” is written a mere two times, yet it has become synonymous with this Order, turning into a highly-circulated militaristic meme in the Soviet Union.¹³⁸ A Soviet soldier commenting on the Order said, “the spirit and content of the [O]rder made possible the moral, psychological and spiritual breakthrough in the hearts and minds of those to whom it was read.”¹³⁹ With this Order, “Not one step back,” it appears that

¹³³ Brandon Schechter, “‘The People’s Instructions’: Indigenizing the Great Patriotic War Among ‘Non-Russians’*,” *Ab Imperio* no. 3 (2012): 114, doi:10.1353/imp.2012.0095; Susan Corbesero, “History, Myth, and Memory: A Biography of a Stalin Portrait,” *Russian History* 38, no. 1 (2011): 75, doi:10.1163/187633111X549605; Richard J. Overy, *Russia’s War: A History of the Soviet War Effort, 1941-1945* (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 158; Frank Ellis, “Dulag-205: The German Army’s Death Camp for Soviet Prisoners at Stalingrad,” *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 19, no. 1 (2006): 125, doi:10.1080/13518040500544600. Over time, Stalin’s order has been translated in the following ways: “Not one step backwards,” “Not one step back,” “Not a step back,” and “Not a step backwards.”

¹³⁴ Ellis, “Dulag-205,” 125; Roberts Geoffrey, *Victory at Stalingrad: The Battle That Changed History* (Harlow: Longman, 2002), 203–205.

¹³⁵ Overy, *Russia’s War*, 157–161; Geoffrey, *Victory at Stalingrad*, 203–205.

¹³⁶ Ellis, “Dulag-205,” 125; Overy, *Russia’s War*, 157–158.

¹³⁷ Geoffrey, *Victory at Stalingrad*, 203–210.

¹³⁸ Geoffrey, *Victory at Stalingrad*, 205–206. In Order No. 277, not one step back appears in the following two contexts 1) “Not a step back! This must now be our chief slogan. It is necessary to defend to the last drop of blood every position, every metre of Soviet territory” and 2) “Panickers and cowards must be eliminated on the spot. Henceforth iron discipline is demanded of every commander, soldier and political worker – not a step back without orders from higher authorities.”

¹³⁹ Overy, *Russia’s War*, 161.

Stalin endeavored to strengthen the resolve and commitment of the Red Army to not retreat against German forces, using imminent death as a consequence for noncompliance. In recent years, this phrase has been re-used in less official and violent contexts, such as in Russian commercial marketing (e.g., Chernorechenskii Distillery “Not one step back” vodka and Prima Company “Not one step back” cigarettes).¹⁴⁰

Returning to the context of Isocratic moral argumentation, the “Historical Topo[s],” “Not one step back” may be categorized as an “argument from danger appeal.”¹⁴¹ This scheme takes on the following form,

If you (the respondent) bring about A, then B will occur. B is a danger to you.

Therefore, (on balance) you should not bring about A.¹⁴²

With this scheme, Stalin was able to persuade soldiers not to retreat by guaranteeing them a certain death if they elected to retreat:

If you retreat (A) in any way, you will be killed (B), being killed (B) is a significant danger for you, therefore you should not retreat (A).¹⁴³

Through “Logismo,” the Yayoflautas transformed this *topos* into a less violent new “Logos,” “*EN DERECHOS SOCIALES, NI UN PASO ATRÁS: NO AL PENSIONAZO*” (IN SOCIAL RIGHTS, NOT ONE STEP BACK: NO TO MAJOR PENSION CUTS), which employs a form of “argument from consequences,” an “argument from negative consequences.” This is represented by the following structure:

If I (an agent) bring about (don’t bring about) A, then B will occur. B is a bad outcome (from the point of view of my goals). Therefore, I should not (practically

¹⁴⁰ Corbesero, “History, Myth, and Memory,” 74–76.

¹⁴¹ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 102.

¹⁴² Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 103.

¹⁴³ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 103.

speaking) bring about A.¹⁴⁴ As a result, the Yayoflautas present their argument in the following manner: If I (an elderly citizen) do not defend my right to a pension (A), then my social rights will be reduced (B). Reduced social rights (B) are a bad outcome. Therefore, I should “not not” defend my right to a pension (A).¹⁴⁵

This transformation elucidates how the Yayoflautas were able to use a milder and less violent form of argument from consequences to present their claim that pensioners need to defend their pensions.

On a textual level, “Not one step back,” may be categorized as a lexical calque (i.e., a figure wherein a language borrows an expression from another language, literally translating each of its elements), according to the definition provided by translation studies scholars Basil Hatim and Jeremy Munday, that functions by “respect[ing] the syntactic structure of the [language of the translation], whilst introducing a new mode of expression” into the language.¹⁴⁶ The Yayoflautas used this lexical calque for differing persuasive ends when compared to Stalin’s intended purpose for this slogan. Whereas Stalin employed “Not one step back” as a militaristic slogan, imbedded with an implicit death threat to persuade the Red Army to not retreat from German forces, the Yayoflautas re-deploy the phrase in their new slogan, “*EN DERECHOS SOCIALES, NI UN PASO ATRÁS: NO AL PENSIONAZO*” to perform a distinct rhetorical function. “*NI UN PASO ATRÁS*” does not symbolize impending violence in the new Yayoflautas logos like Stalin’s use of the phrase, but rather the historical memory of *past* violence in the Spanish context. It may be argued that “*NI UN PASO ATRÁS*” (the Spanish translation of the Soviet phrase) may be interpreted as an attempt to invoke the violent historical memory of the

¹⁴⁴ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 101.

¹⁴⁵ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 101.

¹⁴⁶ Basil Hatim and Jeremy Munday, *Translation: An Advanced Resource Book*, Routledge Applied Linguistics (New York: Routledge, 2004), 149.

Franco dictatorship in Spain, which resonates with the intended audience (i.e., Spanish pensioners), thereby persuasively reminding pensioners that the social rights they presently have, and that are being contested, were fought for and hard won during their youth.

Consequently, the present study contends that the Yayoflautas new logos produces an “Interpellative Call” that incites the Spanish pensioner (i.e., *individual*) to reflect upon his or her social rights in the present Spanish context, in light of the past, and consider the claim presented by the Yayoflautas regarding pensions. This task will likely entail the “Deliberative Action” of *dissoi logoi*, being that the construction of the Yayoflautas’ logos invokes the past of the intended respondent audience to compel the individual to agree with the claim presented by the Yayoflautas. As a result of engaging with the Yayoflautas’s claim through *dissoi logoi*, the individual is able to arrive at the “Communicative Outcome” of forming *wise judgments* with respect to deciding if he or she agrees with the claim (i.e., Spanish pensioners should defend their right to a pension) presented by the Yayoflautas regarding pensions and to a greater extent, an assertion about the future of their social rights. The use of this Soviet slogan by the Yayoflautas illustrates how World War II militaristic slogans can be transformed to produce new protest memes, through the performance of Isocratic moral argumentation directed to the individual. The following protest group, Ahora, Tú Decides also found inspiration in World War II rhetoric, but in this case, the geography shifts from Eastern Europe to England.

2.4.3 Ahora, Tú Decides (ATD)

As a group, one of ATD’s primary goals is to “*facilitar que la voz de la ciudadanía española sea*

escuchada” (help the voice of the Spanish citizenry to be heard).¹⁴⁷ According to ATD, the consequences that have arisen as a result of the political and economic crises in Spain have reached intolerable limits.¹⁴⁸ Because of this, the group proposes that the time has arrived to “*romper con una concepción falsa de la democracia [en España]*” (break away from a false idea of democracy [in Spain]) and “*pasar de la cultura de la transición a la cultura de la participación*” (go from a culture of transition to a culture of participation).¹⁴⁹ In order to further their proposal for change, ATD members created a website that allows Spanish citizens to participate in an online referendum where, “*desde abajo*” (from below), they can create “*un proyecto consensuado a partir de la deliberación y la inteligencia colectiva*” (a project carried out through deliberation and collective intelligence).¹⁵⁰

Through sponsoring this public vote, members of ATD seek to find out which issues (e.g., political, economic, social) are the most important to the Spanish people, in order to most efficiently resolve the most pressing problems facing the nation.¹⁵¹ To date, ATD has organized two referendums, one in June 2013 that addressed, in a general sense, the best route for political, social and economic change in Spain and a second in October 2013, which inquired how the proposed changes from the first referendum should be carried out (i.e., through institutional or non-institutional means).¹⁵² For the first referendum of June 2013, ATD posted a poster on their Facebook page with the following slogan, “KEEP CALM AND DECIDE” on May 23, 2013, in

¹⁴⁷ AhoraTuDecides, “FAQs.”

¹⁴⁸ “Manifiesto,” AhoraTuDecides, accessed February 1, 2015, <http://www.ahoratudecides.es/index.php/manifiesto/>.

¹⁴⁹ AhoraTuDecides, “Manifiesto.”

¹⁵⁰ AhoraTuDecides, “Manifiesto.”

¹⁵¹ AhoraTuDecides, “FAQs.”

¹⁵² AhoraTuDecides, “FAQs.”

an effort to increase participation in their first organized referendum.¹⁵³ This logos appears to have been inspired by a 1939 United Kingdom World War II propaganda poster: “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON.”¹⁵⁴ This poster forms part of a series of propaganda posters designed in 1939 by the British Ministry of Information (MOI).¹⁵⁵

According to digital humanities and mass communication scholar Bex Lewis, during World War II, United Kingdom governmental propaganda posters were in part responsible for persuading the people of the United Kingdom to “identify themselves as active citizens, as active members of the nation.”¹⁵⁶ United Kingdom World War II propaganda was “partly” responsible for “mobil[izing]” “a shared sense of national identity . . . amongst the people of Britain” during the war.¹⁵⁷ When designing their posters, the MOI was to keep in mind that in the initial weeks of war the people of the United Kingdom would most likely experience a “series of shocks” leading to “shattered nerves, a lack of confidence in ultimate [United Kingdom] success and, therefore, a lack of will to work for victory.”¹⁵⁸

Bearing this in mind, it was the duty of the MOI to anticipate these reactions and prepare “copious” amounts of material that could provide “general reassurance” to the people.¹⁵⁹ One such example of a poster that was likely rhetorically crafted to provide “general reassurance” was the “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” poster designed to be used in the case of an

¹⁵³ Ahora, Tú Decides, Facebook page, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/AhoraTuDecides/photos/pb.635965496418948.-2207520000.1419981545./656646781017486/?type=3&theater>.

¹⁵⁴ Bex Lewis, “The Renaissance of ‘Keep Calm and Carry On,’” *The Poster* 2, no. 1 (2012): 7, doi:10.1386/post.2.1.7_1.

¹⁵⁵ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 7.

¹⁵⁶ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 8.

¹⁵⁷ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 8, 12. Propaganda posters were designed to “appeal to the masses,” according to Lewis.

¹⁵⁸ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 12.

¹⁵⁹ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 12.

“invasion” of the United Kingdom.¹⁶⁰ Despite the fact that this very poster was never displayed during the war, it represents an example of State-produced interpellative propaganda, which under the guise of “general reassurance,” interpellates people to assume a particular behavior.¹⁶¹

In recent years, “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” has enjoyed an international “renaissance,” according to Bex Lewis.¹⁶² This poster’s resurrection began in 2000, in Northumberland, United Kingdom, when Stuart and Mary Manley discovered an original copy of this World War II-era poster in a box of books they had bought at auction for their bookstore, Barter Books.¹⁶³ Upon finding the poster, the owners framed it and put it on display in their bookstore, eventually selling reproductions of the poster in light of customer demand in 2001.¹⁶⁴ Since then, this United Kingdom poster has undergone a large-scale global memetic replication, appearing in commercial contexts, on various forms of merchandise (e.g., t-shirts, coffee mugs, and prophylactic wrappers).¹⁶⁵ The prolific nature of this meme is further evidenced by the creation of websites such as, “keepcalm-o-matic” and “keepcalmandcarryon,” which provide meme generators that enable one to customize this meme in the manner he or she sees fit.¹⁶⁶ In less commercial contexts, this meme has found resonance internationally in diverse rhetorical

¹⁶⁰ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 7, 13, 15. However, this poster was printed, regionally distributed, and stored for an expedient placarding in the event of an invasion.

¹⁶¹ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 7, 12.

¹⁶² Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 7.

¹⁶³ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 7; “Keep Calm and Carry On,” Vimeo video, 3:00, posted by “Studiocanoe,” February 19, 2012, <https://vimeo.com/37081469>.

¹⁶⁴ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 7–8, 17.

¹⁶⁵ Ted Stolze, “An Ethics for Marxism: Spinoza on Fortitude,” *Rethinking Marxism* 26, no. 4 (2014): 568, doi:10.1080/08935696.2014.947763; Michael Heller and Aidan Kelly, “Throwaway History: Brand Ephemerality and Consumer Culture,” *Journal of Macromarketing* (2014): 7, doi:10.1177/0276146714555134; Emma G. Gallegos, “New Condom-Mobile Gives Out Awesome, L.A.-Themed Condoms,” *Laist Blog*, May 22, 2013, http://laist.com/2013/05/22/la_county_gets_its_own_condom-mobil.php#photo-3.

¹⁶⁶ “Get Creative,” Keepcalm-o-matic, accessed February 1, 2015, <http://www.keepcalm-o-matic.co.uk/#create>; “Creator,” Keep Calm and Carry On, accessed February 1, 2015, <http://www.keepcalmandcarryon.com/creator/?shortcode=NQOxtJXW>.

situations, such as following the 2010 earthquake in Christchurch, New Zealand and, as will be presently explored, in a protest slogan from the Spanish protest group, Ahora, Tú Decides.¹⁶⁷

As previously noted, ATD has continued the global replication of “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON,” transforming, through “Logismo,” this World War II “Historical Topo[s]” into a new “Logos”: “KEEP CALM AND DECIDE.” In regard to argumentation schemes, one may contend that “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” employed a “Rhetoric of Belonging Ad Populum Argument” which takes on the following structure:

Everybody in this group G accepts A. Being a member of this group G is highly valued by you (the respondent). If you do not accept A, you will be excluded from this group G. Therefore, you should accept A.¹⁶⁸

This type of argument is a subtype of *argumentum ad populum* (an appeal to the people), a form of argument that has been noted to employ “peer pressure” to implicitly persuade.¹⁶⁹ This particular subtype “functions as a negative *ad populum*,” whereby the speaker (i.e., the government) (implicitly) threatens the respondent audience (i.e., the United Kingdom’s citizens) with “exclusion” from group “G” if they do not accept their claim “A.”¹⁷⁰ If the “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” poster were to have been displayed, it would have likely enacted the aforementioned scheme in the following manner:

“Everyone who forms part of the United Kingdom’s “Active Citizens” (G) agrees to “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON ” in the case of an invasion, air raid, or other “severe” attack (A). Forming part of the United Kingdom’s “Active Citizens” (G)

¹⁶⁷ Sharon Mazer et al., “Reflections on Theatre and Performance in the (Post-) Earthquake Zone,” *Australasian Drama Studies* no. 62 (2013): 69; Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 17.

¹⁶⁸ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 130.

¹⁶⁹ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 128; Douglas N. Walton, *Informal Logic: A Pragmatic Approach* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 114.

¹⁷⁰ Douglas N. Walton, *Appeal to Popular Opinion* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 219–220.

is highly valued by you, a citizen of the United Kingdom. If you do not agree to “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” in the case of an invasion, air raid, or other “severe” attack (A), you will be excluded from forming part of the United Kingdom’s “Active Citizens” (G). Therefore, you should “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” in the case of an invasion, air raid, or other “severe” attack (A).”¹⁷¹

By contrast, ATD’s new logos utilizes a differing scheme, instead employing an “Argument from Goal” (i.e., an argument that obtains the acceptance of its claim by having a designated act “A” contribute to a desired goal “G”) that assumes the following form:

Major premise: Doing act A contributes to goal G;

Minor premise: Person P has goal G; and

Conclusion: Therefore, person P should do act A.¹⁷²

This scheme has been deduced in part, by the rhetoric surrounding this poster on ATD’s Facebook posting.¹⁷³ In ATD’s description for this posting, two questions are presented, which hint at the role participating in ATD’s referendum plays in contributing to an ultimate collective goal: “*¿Cansado de hablar con tus amigos y familia sobre qué es lo que hay que hacer para sacarnos de esta crisis política, económica y social que vivimos? ¿Por qué simplemente no lo votas y te involucras?*” (Tired of talking with your friends and family about what should be done to get us out of this political, economic, and social crisis we live in? Why don’t you simply vote and get involved?).¹⁷⁴ With these questions in mind, it appears that ATD is arguing that participating in their referendum is an action that will contribute to the goal of best *deciding* how

¹⁷¹ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 8, 15; Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 130.

¹⁷² Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 325.

¹⁷³ Ahora, Tú Decides, Facebook page.

¹⁷⁴ Ahora, Tú Decides, Facebook page.

to end the multiple Spanish crises. Consequently, ATD's enactment of this argument scheme takes the following form:

Major premise: Participating in ATD's referendum (A) contributes to the goal of deciding how to end multiple Spanish crises (G);

Minor premise: I, a Spanish citizen, (P) wish to decide how to end the multiple Spanish crises (G); and

Conclusion: therefore, I (P) should participate in ATD's referendum (A).¹⁷⁵

ATD's choice to introduce an argument from goal scheme, as explicated above, in their new logos, instead of a scheme more akin to the United Kingdom's government's rhetoric of belonging *ad populum* argument scheme, may be explained as each respective speaker's attempt to persuasively address the differing rhetorical contexts of the respective respondent audiences. The United Kingdom's government confronted a respondent audience that would have most likely been largely amenable to an *ad populum* argument, owing to its existential belligerent reality. In this reality, a united people and "active citizen[s]" would be critical to a United Kingdom victory, thus leading the people toward having a greater desire for group affiliation, rather than confronting alterity as a traitor who questions arguments made with State-rooted ethos.

ATD, in contrast, could not rely upon a similar respondent audience that would find the threat of exclusion from a relatively new protest group persuasive enough to accept their claim. Moreover, ATD lacked the State-rooted ethos that the "KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON" poster would have commanded. These two constraints possibly explain the use of ATD's argument from goal scheme, being that this form of argumentation would not require their audience to identify with a group (i.e., ATD) in order to agree with their claim or require ATD to build a

¹⁷⁵ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 325.

stronger ethos prior to presenting their claim. With this logic, an argument from goal enabled ATD to gain greater acceptance of their claim, by finding a goal that most Spaniards at the time would have agreed with: deciding how to end the crises (e.g., economic and political).¹⁷⁶

Despite ATD's distinct alteration from the argumentation scheme likely utilized in "KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON," their new logos "KEEP CALM AND DECIDE" nonetheless gestures to the original text, through its use of "pastiche." Pastiche is defined as a type of "neutral" imitation, whereby the author is "neither necessarily critical . . . nor necessarily comic" of his or her sources, and in this way differentiates itself from "Parody," when reproducing elements from another's work.¹⁷⁷ Whereas parody (as discussed within the context of Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda's use of "Do-It-Yourself" in their logos) presented a critical and comedic form of imitation, ATD's selective imitation of the "KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON" poster elucidates the "neutral" character this form of imitation can display.¹⁷⁸ ATD's use of pastiche may be understood as an attempt to enhance the memetic transmission rate (i.e., how quickly the meme replicates) of their logos, potentially propelled by the original meme's (i.e., "KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON") "renaissance."¹⁷⁹

Returning to the articulation of the second phase of Isocratic moral argumentation, ATD's new logos produces an "Interpellative Call" to the *individual* (Spanish citizen) to "KEEP CALM," an affective interpellation that builds to a "political interpellation": "DECIDE." The role of affect operating in ATD's interpellative claim is distinct from affect's function in the United Kingdom's government call, revealing the motives of each speaker. In the case of the

¹⁷⁶ Sociológicas Centro de Investigaciones, *Barómetro Mayo 2013* (Madrid, Spain: CIS, May 1, 2013), http://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/-Archivos/Marginales/2980_2999/2987/Es2987.pdf.

¹⁷⁷ Margaret A. Rose, *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-Modern*, Literature, Culture, Theory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 73–74.

¹⁷⁸ Rose, *Parody*, 72–73. Despite their apparent differences, pastiche is often incorrectly used as a synonym for parody.

¹⁷⁹ Lewis, "Renaissance of Keep Calm."

original historical *topos*, “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON,” the call that would have been produced, would have called the people into a state of controlled stoic inaction and obedience to the State. “KEEP CALM AND CARRY ON” directly commands, with State-rooted ethos, ““exactly how the [State] wants... [the people of the United Kingdom] to behave” in response to distress.¹⁸⁰ The role of affect in this slogan is to incite a passive and disinterested reaction (i.e., “CARRY ON”) in response to the respondent’s compromised national security.

In contrast, the affective component (“KEEP CALM”) in ATD’s slogan does not endeavor to affectively sedate the respondent, but rather serves as a means by which to assist in the respondent’s performance of the second portion of their claim (“DECIDE”). The affective interpellation calls one to enter into a state of calmness prior to deciding how he or she will exert his or her agency in light of the present realities (e.g., the multiple crises) facing Spanish citizens. The key difference with respect to the use of affect in each slogan lies in how affect is employed to either incentivize or disincentivize respondent involvement in State-controlled affairs. In the case of the original historical *topos*, affective interpellation calls for the people to be passive (“KEEP CALM”) and to abstain from exerting their agency in the current situation (“CARRY ON”). Whereas ATD’s slogan encourages respondent involvement in their reality, calling them to “DECIDE” (i.e., form an opinion and become involved).

ATD call for each Spanish citizen to have a calm state of mind before he or she “DECIDE[S]” on a given topic. The juxtaposition of the familiar beginning to the “KEEP CALM” meme, in conjunction with the introduction of a new word (i.e., “DECIDE”) into the original slogan, strategically uses dissimilarity to place greater attention on the newly introduced term. Moreover, the new term, “DECIDE” may be linguistically classified as a cognate (i.e., a

¹⁸⁰ Siobhan Lennon-Patience, “Measuring a Nation’s Wellbeing: A Psycho-Cultural Investigation,” *Free Associations: Psychoanalysis and Culture, Media, Groups Politics* no. 64 (2013): 29–30, http://freeassociations.org.uk/FA_New/OJS/index.php/fa/article/view/76.

word present in two distinct languages which shares “a common origin and . . . [has] similar pronunciations, spellings, and meanings”), which introduces a new linguistic dimension to the interpretation of ATD’s logos.¹⁸¹ In this meme, the word “DECIDE,” as a cognate, may be interpreted as a command in English, (you) “decide” or in Spanish as the same imperative with the same meaning: (*tú*) “*decide*.” This polysemy enables ATD’s logos to be interpreted as an English language or mixed-language message. ATD’s choice to employ a cognate as their memetic modification may be understood as an attempt to maintain a high memetic transmission rate of their logos, through appealing to a multilingual audience. Moreover, the seemingly vague word “DECIDE” also appears to serve the rhetorical purpose of provoking greater engagement with ATD’s claim, as “DECIDE” could refer to multifarious questions, such as *decide* how you feel about Spain’s current situation, *decide* if you wish to be politically active, or — most importantly from ATD’s perspective — *decide* if you will participate in ATD’s referendum.

Regardless of with which question(s) an individual decides to engage, the “Deliberative Action” of *dissoi logoi* will likely occur in order for the individual to reach the “Communicative Outcome” making his or her decision (i.e., forming *wise judgments*). As such, ATD’s interpellative call ideally leads to the communicative outcome of forming wise judgments, regarding but not limited to, participating in ATD’s referendum and the other questions their logos may inspire in the respondent audience to entertain. The following protest group that will be examined, Marea Blanca, also found inspiration from the United Kingdom for one of their protest slogans. However, unlike ATD, who have selected a relatively new historical *topos* from the twentieth century for their new slogan, the Marea Blanca, went back further in the United Kingdom’s history to retrieve a historical *topos* whose history begins in the 1700s.

¹⁸¹ Anete Vásquez, Angela L. Hansen, and Philip C. Smith, *Teaching Language Arts to English Language Learners*, Teaching English Language Learners across the Curriculum (New York: Routledge, 2013), 149.

2.4.4 Marea Blanca

In January of 2013, the Málaga node of the Marea Blanca published a poster on their Facebook, advertising an upcoming *asamblea*.¹⁸² On the poster the following message appears: “GOD Save THE EURO [*sic*], Troika.”¹⁸³ The last term of this slogan, Troika, makes reference to a financial entity composed by the European Commission, European Central Bank (ECB), and International Monetary Fund (IMF), which, in June 2012, granted the Spanish Government a 100 billion euro “soft” loan to bail out the failing Spanish banking sector.¹⁸⁴ Throughout the European debt crisis, Troika’s strong encouragement of austerity measures has been summarized by its meme “TINA”: “There is no alternative.”¹⁸⁵ In light of Troika’s economic stance, Spain, under the pressure of European political and monetary powers, introduced a series of austerity measures.¹⁸⁶ One such austerity measure came in the form of a 12% budget cut to Spain’s healthcare sector in 2012.¹⁸⁷ Thus, the Malaga Marea Blanca node’s evocation of Troika in “GOD Save THE EURO [*sic*], Troika” appears to be sardonic, in light of its implicated role in the austerity measures

¹⁸² Marea Blanca de Malaga Facebook page, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/mareablancademalaga/photos/pb.249650651827629.-2207520000.1424305241./275650715894289/?type=3&theater>.

¹⁸³ Marea Blanca de Malaga, Facebook page.

¹⁸⁴ Walter Kickert and Tamyko Ysa, “New Development: How the Spanish Government Responded to the Global Economic, Banking and Fiscal Crisis,” *Public Money & Management* 34, no. 6 (2014): 455, doi:10.1080/09540962.2014.962375. The goal of the bailout was to recapitalize and restructure Spanish banks. Measures for this process were “externally determined and imposed,” placing Troika in charge of the Spanish banking sector.

¹⁸⁵ William K. Black, “Spain Rains on the Austerity Victory Parade,” *Challenge* 57, no. 2 (2014): 44, doi:10.2753/0577-5132570203.

¹⁸⁶ Howard Karger, “The Bitter Pill: Austerity, Debt, and the Attack on Europe’s Welfare States,” *Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare* 41, no. 2 (2014): 40.

¹⁸⁷ Aaron Reeves et al., “The Political Economy of Austerity and Healthcare: Cross-National Analysis of Expenditure Changes in 27 European Nations 1995-2011,” *Health Policy* 115, no. 1 (2014): 2, doi:10.1016/j.healthpol.2013.11.008; Misaël Zavala, “La austeridad ralentiza el PIB y empeora el paro,” *Cinco Días*, August 12, 2013, http://cincodias.com/cincodias/2013/07/26/economia/1374853474_481960.html; Pilar Sánchez Acera, “Una Reforma contra los ciudadanos,” *Nuevatribuna.es*, published October 20, 2013, <http://www.nuevatribuna.es/articulo/espana/reforma-ley-bases/20131020132024097511.html>; Vicenç Navarro, “Los recortes en la sanidad pública, otra vez,” *Pensamiento crítico blog*, December 28, 2012, <http://blogs.publico.es/vicenc-navarro/2012/12/28/los-recortes-en-la-sanidad-publica-otra-vez>.

implemented in Spain's healthcare system.

The first slogan (i.e., "GOD Save THE EURO [*sic*], Troika") is paired with a second slogan on the poster, "NUESTRA SALUD NO esTA [*sic*] EN VENTA" (Our Healthcare is not for sale), which serves to further contextualize the first slogan as an exasperated exclamation gesturing to the State's preoccupation with the health of the euro currency over the health of Spanish citizens.¹⁸⁸ For the purposes of this study, the first slogan will be the primary artifact of analysis with the second slogan serving as a contextual artifact that aids in the examination of the primary artifact. The first slogan, "GOD Save THE EURO [*sic*], Troika" appears to have been created from the "Historical Topo[s]" "God Save the Queen," the title of the United Kingdom's national anthem.¹⁸⁹

The origin and history of "God Save the Queen" is riddled with uncertainty, as neither the composer nor lyricist were ever credited in its contested first publication in 1744, under the title "God Save the King."¹⁹⁰ This anthem underwent a period of high memetic replication in the late 1700s, undergoing a series of adaptations and ultimately being adopted as the anthem in many foreign lands (e.g., "Hanover, Brunswick, Prussia, Saxony, Sweden, and Russia").¹⁹¹ Moreover, there were less ceremonious and respectful replications of this song as well, notably by British radicals in the 1790s.¹⁹²

In the late eighteenth century, British radicals used songs as a means of "cultural

¹⁸⁸ Marea Blanca de Malaga, Facebook page.

¹⁸⁹ Thurston Dart, "Maurice Greene and the National Anthem," *Music & Letters* 37, no. 3 (1956): 205–210, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/729959>; A. Wallis Myers, "God Save the Queen. The Story of Our National Hymn," *The Ludgate* 11 (1900): 148–154; Percy Alfred Scholes, *God Save the Queen!: The History and Romance of the World's First National Anthem; with Many Historical Caricatures and Other Illustrations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1954). It should be noted that depending on the sex of the current monarch, the final noun at the end of the song is modified to reflect this title change (e.g. "God Save the King" and "God Save the Queen").

¹⁹⁰ Dart, "Maurice Greene and the National Anthem," 205, 210; Scholes, *God Save the Queen*, 5.

¹⁹¹ Myers, "God Save the Queen. The Story of Our National Hymn," 148.

¹⁹² Michael T. Davis, "An Evening of Pleasure Rather Than Business": Songs, Subversion, and Radical Sub-Culture in the 1790s," *Journal for the Study of British Cultures* 12, no. 2 (2005): 116; Alison Morgan, "'God Save Our Queen!' Percy Bysshe Shelley and Radical Appropriations of the British National Anthem," *Romanticism* 20, no. 1 (2014): 60, doi:10.3366/rom.2014.0157.

resistance,” which contributed to their effort to undo the “the dominant discursive force of loyalist music” and also as a sustaining and animating force in the reform movement.¹⁹³ For example, British radicals created and performed alternative versions of “God Save the King” in attempt to mock and subvert its intended State-deemed signification, which allowed them to produce counter-hegemonic discourses that were not as easily prosecuted by the anti-radicalism government of the time.¹⁹⁴ Moving into the twentieth century, the transgressive memetic replication of the United Kingdom’s national anthem resurfaced in the 1970s. During the late 1970s, the United Kingdom had a thriving Punk sub-culture that clashed in multiple respects with the State, representing “a real threat to the established order.”¹⁹⁵ One particularly infamous subversive replication of the anthem was by the British punk rock band the Sex Pistols, who employed “God Save the Queen” as the title of one of their singles.

In 1977, the year of Queen Elizabeth II’s Silver Jubilee, the Sex Pistols released the single “God Save the Queen” to deliberately coincide with the national celebration.¹⁹⁶ The song was created by the Sex Pistols as a form of protest against the celebration of the Jubilee and serves as a form of commentary on the monarchy and, to a greater extent, the nation as a whole.¹⁹⁷ The composition was “a mockery of everything the monarchy stood for” and features lyrics such as “(God save the Queen / A fascist regime / They made you a moron / Potential H-bomb/ God save the Queen / She ain’t [*sic*] no human being / There is no future / In England’s

¹⁹³ Davis, “Evening of Pleasure,” 118, 121.

¹⁹⁴ Davis, “Evening of Pleasure,” 118–119, 121–122.

¹⁹⁵ Kevin C. Dunn, “Never Mind the Bollocks: The Punk Rock Politics of Global Communication,” *Review of International Studies* 34 (2008): 200–201, doi:10.1017/S0260210508007869.

¹⁹⁶ Dunn, “Never Mind the Bollocks,” 201.

¹⁹⁷ D. Simonelli, “Anarchy, Pop and Violence: Punk Rock Subculture and the Rhetoric of Class, 1976–78,” *Contemporary British History* 16, no. 2 (2002): 135, doi:10.1080/713999447.

dreaming).”¹⁹⁸ Despite the fact that this single was subsequently banned by radio stations and its record made unavailable in most retail stores in the United Kingdom, it “sold enormously” well.¹⁹⁹ Equally polemic as the Sex Pistols’ lyrics was the accompanying album art produced by artist Jamie Reid, which consisted of a portrait of Queen Elizabeth II with a strategically placed typographic collage over her eyes and mouth.²⁰⁰

Queen Elizabeth II’s eyes are covered with the following text “God Save the Queen,” while her mouth is hidden by the name of the band: the “Sex Pistols.”²⁰¹ The font used for this text consists of four differently sized fonts, in a “mis-matched mis-aligned” layout of letters in the text.²⁰² This style has been described as taking the form of “blackmail type cut-up lettering,” which is a “classic” marker of punk imagery.²⁰³ The Sex Pistols’ memetic replication of this national anthem, specifically their use of the same song title, elucidates how this punk band transformed official State discourse representative of British cultural identity and monarchical allegiance into a transgressive and subversive counter-hegemonic discourse, in the form of a punk rock song that critiqued, ridiculed, and questioned the fundament of “God Save the Queen” (e.g., “God save the Queen / A fascist regime”).²⁰⁴

Of the two discussed transgressive memetic replications of “God Save the Queen,” it is the final punk transformation that the present study argues to have been mimetically replicated

¹⁹⁸ Simonelli, “Anarchy, Pop and Violence,” 132; Ismael López Medel, “No Hope, No Future, No Design: Punk Design, Jamie Reid and The Sex Pistols,” *Creatividad Y Sociedad: Revista de La Asociación Para La Creatividad* no. 22 (2014): 20, http://www.creatividadysociedad.com/articulos/22/13_Lopez.pdf?pdf?pdf.

¹⁹⁹ Dunn, “Never Mind the Bollocks,” 201; John Street, “‘Fight the Power’: The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics*,” *Government and Opposition* 38, no. 1 (2003): 117–118, doi:10.1111/1477-7053.00007; Lucy O’Brien, “The Woman Punk Made Me,” in *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk*, ed. Roger Sabin (London: Routledge, 1999), 192.

²⁰⁰ Sex Pistols Official, “God Save The Queen”; López Medel, “No Hope, No Future,” 9, 19–20; David Huxley, “‘Ever Get the Feeling You’ve Been Cheated?’: Anarchy and Control in The Great Rock ’n’ Roll Swindle,” in *Punk Rock: So What? The Cultural Legacy of Punk*, ed. Roger Sabin (London: Routledge, 1999), 87.

²⁰¹ Huxley, “Ever Get the Feeling,” 87.

²⁰² Huxley, “Ever Get the Feeling,” 87.

²⁰³ Huxley, “Ever Get the Feeling,” 87.

²⁰⁴ López Medel, “No Hope, No Future,” 20.

by the Málaga-based Marea Blanca node. This claim is supported by graphic evidence observed when comparing the graphic design of the Málaga node's poster design with the Sex Pistols' "God Save the Queen" album art. Both artifacts employ the same style of typeface (i.e., blackmail type cut-up lettering) and text placement over the eyes and mouth of a State authority, overlaid upon a desecrated flag.²⁰⁵ Notwithstanding a few graphic differences between the two artifacts, the Málaga Marea Blanca node's poster carries distinct markers of punk imagery and, as such, aids in identifying the most probable source of this group's historical *topoi*.²⁰⁶

Moreover, it should be noted that punk music and culture have a history in Spain, beginning in the 1980s "*con mucha fuerza*" (with great force).²⁰⁷ During this period, punk bands, especially the Sex Pistols were "*seguida masivamente*" (significantly followed) by Spaniards and considered *the* model of punk.²⁰⁸ As such, in Spain, punk music has played a decisive role in the lifestyle shaping of the youths of the Transition (e.g., those involved in the *movida madrileña*).²⁰⁹ Hence, it is understandable that punk imagery would reappear in modern politically transgressive contexts in Spain, given its strong cultural influence during the 1980s, thereby further supporting the claim that the Málaga node of Marea Blanca were most likely influenced by the Sex Pistols invocation and re-signification of "God Save the Queen" during the creation of their logos (i.e., "GOD Save THE EURO [*sic*], Troika").

²⁰⁵ "God Save The Queen 7," Sex Pistols Official, accessed February 1, 2015, <http://www.sexpistolsofficial.com/records/god-save-the-queen-7/>; Marea Blanca de Malaga, Facebook page.

²⁰⁶ In the case of the Málaga Marea Blanca node poster, three State authorities (i.e., German Chancellor, Angela Merkel; former Spanish Minister of Health and Social Welfare of the Junta de Andalucía, María Jesús Montero Cuadrado; former Spanish Minister of Health, Social Services and Equality, Ana Mato) are displayed instead of one State official, however, the text location remains the same as that of the Sex Pistols.

²⁰⁷ Mario Pedro Díaz Barrado, *La España Democrática (1975-2000): Cultura Y Vida Cotidiana*, Historia de España, 3er Milenio (Madrid: Editorial Síntesis, 2006), 168; Guillermo Fouce, "La Música Punk En La Década de Los 90," *Nómadas: Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales Y Jurídicas* 20, no. 4 (2008): 1–21, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/NOMA/article/view/NOMA0808440199A/26270>; Juan Arribas, "Subculturas Actuales En El Cine Juvenil," *Comunicación: Estudios Venezolanos de Comunicación* (1985): 162.

²⁰⁸ Miguel Ángel Nicolás Ojeda, *Juventud Y Publicidad: Aspectos Teóricos Sobre El Concepto Social de Juventud Y Su Estudio Desde La Disciplina Publicitaria* (Madrid: Visión Libros, 2008), 126; Díaz Barrado, *La España Democrática*, 168.

²⁰⁹ Ojeda, *Juventud Y Publicidad*, 126.

Returning to the performance of Isocratic moral argumentation by the Marea Blanca node in Málaga, the present study contends that this node transformed, through “Logismo” the “Historical Topo[s],” “God Save the Queen” to create their new “Logos”: “GOD Save THE EURO [*sic*], Troika.” The historical *topos* of “God Save the Queen” is the title of the United Kingdom’s national anthem, but when in the hands of the Sex Pistols, represents a form of mockery and critical opposition to uncritical supporters of State-produced dogma, allowing this argument to be categorized as an “Argument from Anti-Model.”²¹⁰ In this scheme, the speaker “presents a person or group as a model to be . . . avoided,” (i.e., the anti-model), as a result, the aim of this argument is to “deter people” from imitating the anti-model’s behavior.²¹¹ An argument from anti-model maintains the following structure:

premise 1: Individual [K] is not prestigious for (not admired by) individuals [D]s,
 premise 2: [K] carries out acts A, premise 3: [D]s want to be different from [K],
 and conclusion: [D]s should not do A.²¹²

Consequently, the Sex Pistols’ argument structure would likely take the following form:

Premise 1: Uncritical supporters of the political and cultural fundament articulated in “God Save the Queen” (K) are not admired by the punks (Ds);
 Premise 2: Uncritical supporters of the political and cultural fundament articulated in “God Save the Queen” (K) refrain from attacking and mocking the principles and values articulated in the national anthem (A);
 Premise 3: The punks (Ds) want to be different from the uncritical supporters of the political and cultural fundament articulated in “God Save the Queen” (K); and

²¹⁰ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 315.

²¹¹ Timothy Sellnow and Jeffrey Brand, “Establishing the Structure of Reality for an Industry: Model and Anti-Model Arguments as Advocacy in Nike’s Crisis Communication,” *Journal of Applied Communication Research* 29, no. 3 (2001): 282–284, doi:10.1080/00909880128109.

²¹² Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 315.

Conclusion: The punks (Ds) should not refrain from attacking and mocking the principles and values articulated in the national anthem (A).²¹³

This scheme enabled the Sex Pistols to subversively present State discourse (i.e., the national anthem) in a manner that challenges its “official” purpose, negatively re-framing those who uncritically support and accept the principles and values articulated in State-produced dogma as the “Anti-Model,” thereby incentivizing their suggested behavior (a critical disposition toward the State) as the new “Model” meriting imitation. Through the use of an anti-model argument scheme, the Sex Pistols were able to likely embolden the intended respondent audience, predominately punks, to question “God Save the Queen” and other forms of State-produced dogma. Furthermore, the Sex Pistols’ memetic replication of the national anthem introduced yet another new heretical and transgressive association to a historical exaltation, perpetuating this meme’s historical, counter-cultural replication among British “subaltern counterpublics.”²¹⁴

In contrast, the new *topos* employed in the logos of the Marea Blanca’s Málaga node, “GOD Save THE €URO [*sic*], Troika” is less dichotomous in its form of persuasion, and relies more on an established collective goal maintained by the respondent audience, in order to obtain the acceptance of their claim. The scheme operating in this logos may be classified as an “Argument from Goal,” a form of argument that has previously been discussed in this chapter within the context of ATD’s logos.²¹⁵ To review, this type of argument scheme obtains the

²¹³ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 315; Lars Elleström, *Divine Madness: On Interpreting Literature, Music, and the Visual Arts Ironically* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 160.

²¹⁴ Davis, “Evening of Pleasure,” 123; Elleström, *Divine Madness*, 160. “Subaltern counterpublic” is a term theorized by critical theorist Nancy Fraser to describe “parallel discursive arenas” where oppressed groups “invent and circulate counterdiscourses to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs.”

²¹⁵ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 325.

acceptance of its claim by having a designated act “A” contribute to a desired goal “G” taking on the following structure:

major premise: Doing act A contributes to goal G, minor premise: Person P has goal G, and conclusion: Therefore, person P should do act A.²¹⁶

The articulation of this scheme by the Málaga node of the Marea Blanca would likely appear in the following form: major premise:

Attending the Málaga Marea Blanca asamblea (A), contributes to my goal of solving how to stop the privatization and financial cuts being implemented to Spain’s healthcare system, by the Spanish government (G) as a way to appease the demands of Troika and other European monetary and political powers, minor premise: As a citizen of Spain in favor of public healthcare (P), I want to stop the privatization and financial cuts being implemented in Spain’s healthcare system (G), and conclusion: Therefore, I, a citizen of Spain, in favor of public healthcare (P), should attend the Málaga Marea Blanca asamblea (A).

An argument from goal scheme enabled this node of the Marea Blanca to skillfully and persuasively utilize a shared goal (i.e., keeping the Spanish public healthcare system) supported by the respondent audience to increase the acceptance of their logos. With this scheme, the Marea Blanca in Málaga were able to avoid the potential problems (e.g., limiting respondent audience size and alienating potential audience members) that could have arisen from employing an argument scheme more akin to that of the Sex Pistols, which relies upon the psychology of in-group and out-group dynamics.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Walton, Reed, and Macagno, *Argumentation Schemes*, 325.

²¹⁷ Marilynn B. Brewer, “The Psychology of Prejudice: Ingroup Love or Outgroup Hate?,” *Journal of Social Issues* 55, no. 3 (1999): 429–444, doi:10.1111/0022-4537.00126.

Despite selecting a less potentially dividing *topos* in their logos, the Marea Blanca in Málaga nevertheless allude to the subversive and transgressive connotation of the Sex Pistols-re-signified “God Save the Queen” meme, through their use of parody, a figure also previously observed in PACD’s logos. Much like the Sex Pistols’ use of parody in their logos to criticize the State, the node of the Marea Blanca in Málaga employ the same figure to comment on the “economically-controlled” Spanish State. Upon closer examination, the Málaga Marea Blanca’s parody of “God Save the Queen” has made a decisive substitution in the replication of this meme: the use of an economic currency in lieu of a State authority figure (i.e., “€URO” instead of a Spanish State authority figure).²¹⁸ This memetic modification is especially *kairos*-related given the context of Spanish politics at the beginning of 2013 when the Málaga Marea Blanca posted their logos on their Facebook page.

In April of 2012, news of King Juan Carlos of Spain’ hunting trip to Botswana, Africa came to light after it was released that the king had broken his hip while shooting elephants, necessitating hospitalization in Spain.²¹⁹ Many Spanish people were outraged that, during a period of extreme austerity measures in education, pensions, and healthcare, the king would take an ostentatious hunting trip.²²⁰ Citizens’ wide-spread dissatisfaction with the Spanish monarchy likely led King Juan Carlos to issue his “first-ever” public apology in his twenty-three year reign of Spain.²²¹ Bearing this in mind, it may be argued that the Málaga Marea Blanca, responding to the political context in which their logos would be received, productively re-articulated and reflected Spanish citizens’ monarchical discontent in their logos, by deliberately replacing the

²¹⁸ Elleström, *Divine Madness*, 160.

²¹⁹ Pilar Orti, *The A to Z of Spanish Culture* (London: Unusual Connections, 2014), 17; William Chislett, *Spain: What Everyone Needs to Know* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 80.

²²⁰ Ronald D. Smith, *Strategic Planning for Public Relations*, eBook (Routledge, 2004), 117; Orti, *A to Z*, 17; Chislett, *Spain*, 80.

²²¹ Smith, *Strategic Planning*, 117; Orti, *A to Z*, 17; Chislett, *Spain*, 80.

royal state figure that appears in the original *topos* with the euro: written as the word “EURO [sic],” which also identifies the currency by its symbol (i.e., “€”).

The aforementioned memetic modification serves as a commentary on the now former Spanish king’s lack of regard and consideration for the economic situation of Spanish citizens, leading to this meme’s direct statement that the Spanish people are being ruled by the euro.²²² Rhetorically, by reflecting the popular opinion of the people in their logos, the Málaga Marea Blanca seek to increase the likelihood that their argument will be accepted by a larger audience. Thus, the Málaga Marea Blanca’s use of parody illustrates how this group mimetically modified the *topos* of “God Save the Queen” to reflect the type of kairos-infused imitation that Isocratic moral argumentation encourages in its articulation.

When comparing both the Sex Pistols and the Málaga Marea Blanca’s transgressive arguments, it becomes apparent that both, either directly or indirectly, implicate the State in their logos. The Sex Pistols elect to be more direct in their logos (likely a reflection of the subversive anti-establishment nature of punk culture), which may be observed by their choice of *topos*, being an argument from anti-model scheme. This type of argument awakens in-group (i.e., the punks) affiliative affect and foments out-group (i.e., uncritical supporters of the State) derogation.²²³ In contrast, the indirect engagement with the State in the Málaga Marea Blanca node’s logos is apparent in their indirect rhetorical framing of the State, rather than their selected *topos* (i.e., argument from goal scheme). The State appears in their logos by way of a contradictory juxtaposition of praise, albeit sarcastic, and implicit blame created by the two

²²² King Juan Carlos of Spain was succeeded by his son, King Felipe VI, on June 19, 2014. Natalia Junquera Añón, “El Rey firma hoy su última ley: la de su propia abdicación,” *El País*, June 17, 2014, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2014/06/17/actualidad/1403037329_109394.html.

²²³ Brewer, “Psychology of Prejudice.”

slogans: “GOD Save THE €URO [*sic*], Troika and “NUESTRA SALUD NO esTA [*sic*] EN VENTA.”

Both Marea Blanca slogans employ economic metaphors, likely to capitalize on the respondent audience’s emotional distress regarding the budget cuts made to the Spanish healthcare system.²²⁴ The primary artifact of analysis, “GOD Save THE €URO [*sic*], Troika,” alludes to the health of the euro being valued over that of the citizens of Spain. The comedic nature and partial veracity of the primary logos, “GOD Save THE €URO [*sic*], Troika” paired with the second slogan, “NUESTRA SALUD NO esTA [*sic*] EN VENTA” produces an “Interpellative Call” to *individuals* to attend the advertised *asamblea*, as a means to contribute to the goal of stopping the privatization and financial cuts being implemented in Spain’s healthcare system.

At the advertised Marea Blanca *asamblea*, attendees engaged in the “Deliberative Action” of *synerchesthe*, which may be evidenced upon reviewing the notes that were taken at this *asamblea*.²²⁵ It would appear that, by the conclusion of this *asamblea*, the Málaga Marea Blanca made a series of judgments with respect to future protest actions, likely creating unity among the participants of the *asamblea*, thereby evidencing the two “Communicative Outcome[s]” of this form of Isocratic moral argumentation (i.e., *wise judgments* and the creation of *unity*), previously observed in the analysis of 15-M’s logoi.²²⁶ The Málaga Marea Blanca’s performance of Isocratic moral argumentation was the first of the four examined follow-on groups to create an argument

²²⁴ Sociológicas Centro de Investigaciones, *Barómetro Diciembre 2012* (Madrid, Spain: CIS, December 1, 2012), http://www.cis.es/cis/export/sites/default/-Archivos/Marginales/2960_2979/2972/Es2972.pdf; “El CIS defiende la sanidad pública: los españoles la prefieren para urgencias,” *El Confidencial*, published August 14, 2013, http://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2013-08-14/el-cis-defiende-la-sanidad-publica-los-espanoles-la-prefieren-para-urgencias_17897/; “Bajan ligeramente los españoles que creen que la sanidad pública funciona bien o muy bien,” RTVE, published August, 14, 2013, <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20130814/bajan-ligeramente-espanoles-creen-sanidad-publica-funciona-bien-muy-bien/737862.shtml>.

²²⁵ Marea Blanca Malaga (ant. Grupo de Trabajo de Salud del 15M) Facebook page, accessed February 1, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/groups/159909904085250/415326855210219/>.

²²⁶ Marea Blanca Malaga, Facebook page.

that leads to the deliberative action of *synerchesthe*. This difference, in addition to others, will be addressed in the following section, which will compare and contrast the replication of the meme of Isocratic moral argumentation: a meme from the 15-M memplex.

2.4.5 Comparing Memetic Replications of 15-M's Isocratic Moral Argumentation

American public intellectual Susan Sontag contends that “[A] poster aims to seduce, to exhort, to sell, to educate, to convince, to appeal . . . [a] poster *reaches out to grab* those who might otherwise pass it by” (emphasis added).²²⁷ As a result of the interpellative nature of posters, noted by Sontag, the present study selected follow-on group slogans from posters produced by each respective group. Upon comparing 15-M's performance of Isocratic moral argumentation with that of the follow-on groups, multiple memetic modifications may be observed, of which three will now be addressed.

First, the follow-on groups' selection of historical *topoi* was distinct on multiple levels (e.g., time period, country of origin, and original rhetorical context) in the replication of the meme of Isocratic moral argumentation. While the historical *topoi* that inspired the two analyzed 15-M logoi were from 1960s France, a rhetorical context very similar to that of 15-M (i.e., a protest against the State), only one of the four follow-on groups' artifacts resembles 15-M's selection of historical *topoi*: that of the Málaga Marea Blanca. Much like 15-M, this node of the Marea Blanca selected a historical *topos* (i.e., a British 1970s punk anti-establishment song) that had a pre-existing protest-directed function.

In contrast, the remaining three protest groups constructed politically transgressive and protest-oriented connotation in their logoi. PACD selected a *topos* from 1950s American

²²⁷ Lewis, “Renaissance of Keep Calm,” 9.

commercial marketing and the Murcia Yayoflautas and ATD both selected World War II-related State-produced *topoi*. The Murcia Yayoflautas' transformation of a Soviet militaristic slogan and ATD's transmutation of a United Kingdom Government propaganda slogan provocatively subverted the *original* State-intended connotations in their memetic replication of these *topoi*, which served as a discursive act of protest in and of itself. Despite differences with respect to time period, geographic origin, and the original rhetorical context of the historical *topoi*, all four protest groups selected *topoi* that were from the twentieth century, with 80 percent of the slogans originating from Europe and 20 percent in North America. The high levels of memetic mutation observed in the replication of this component of Isocratic moral argumentation may be understood as a successful performance of this form of argumentation.

Second, the *topoi* employed by the follow-on groups were similarly diverse, when compared to the schemes utilized by 15-M, after the transmutation of historical *topoi* into new logoi. Interestingly, the two new logoi 15-M created from the Mai '68 *topoi* utilized the same argument from consequences scheme (i.e., an argument from negative consequences). This type of argumentation (i.e., an argument from consequences) is often employed in "economic and political deliberations where [there exists a disagreement] on what is the best course of action to pursue."²²⁸ Thus, 15-M's use of this scheme appears to reflect the deliberations in which they were engaged with the State, in regard to how economic and political issues facing the country should be handled.²²⁹ Of the argument schemes employed in the new logoi of the follow-on groups, only the Murcia Yayoflautas utilized the same *topos* (i.e., an argument from negative consequences) as 15-M in their logos. ATD and the Málaga Marea Blanca both created logoi that

²²⁸ Douglas N. Walton, *Fundamentals of Critical Argumentation*, eBook, Critical Reasoning and Argumentation (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 105.

²²⁹ Walton, *Fundamentals of Critical Argumentation*, 105.

used an argument from goal scheme, leaving PACD as the only group to use an argument from sign scheme.

Third, the type of interpellative calls produced by 15-M's logoi and that of the follow-on groups were distinct, resulting in differing deliberative actions and communicative outcomes in the articulation of Isocratic moral argumentation. 15-M created logoi that produced an interpellative call to individuals to engage in the deliberative act of *synerchesthe* in its acampadas that, in consequence, produced the communicative outcome of wise judgments and unity. In terms of the follow-on groups, the Málaga Marea Blanca was the only group to produce an interpellative call directed to individuals, and as a result, engage in *synerchesthe*, producing the same communicative outcome as 15-M. Both 15-M and the Málaga Marea Blanca intended for individuals to attend their asambleas and deliberate over issues facing the citizens of Spain, producing the communicative outcome of wise judgments, necessary for future collective action and unity.

In contrast to 15-M and the Málaga Marea Blanca, ATD, PACD, and the Murcia Yayoflautas all created logoi directed at the individual, which would lead to the deliberative action of disoi logoi, and as such, create the communicative outcome of wise judgments. The indented rhetorical effect of the logoi presented by the three aforementioned groups was for the individual to make a wise judgment about the claims they presented. Thus, the difference that arose during the replication of this portion of the meme of Isocratic moral argumentation appears to be the result of the differing rhetorical goals maintained by each respective group. This comparative discussion evidences a high level of variance found in the memetic replication of 15-M's meme of Isocratic moral argumentation, signaling a high transmission rate for this 15-M

meme. The final section of this chapter summarizes the salient findings produced vis-à-vis the study and performance of Isocratic Moral argumentation.

2.5 CONCLUSION

Confronted with multiple crises (e.g., financial and political) in the summer of 2011, Spanish citizens mobilized on a large scale, coming together in cities around the globe to demonstrate their collective indignation and commitment to inspire change in 15-M's numerous acampadas. In a sense, those who ventured into 15-M's acampadas transformed a moment of crisis into one of *krisis*.²³⁰ The Greek noun *κρίσις* (*krisis*), which means “a decision,” comes from the verb *κρίνω* (*krinein*) meaning “to decide, judge.”²³¹ 15-M seized this moment of crisis, to make the *decision* to challenge the Spanish Government's role as sole decision maker for the citizens of Spain, instead electing to encourage citizens to take a more active role in the management of the nation's economic and political affairs.

15-M endeavored to create and *decide* its own solutions to the crises gripping Spain through horizontal collective deliberation. A crucial component to helping Spanish citizens *decide* was productively calling citizens to the acampadas, so that they could participate in 15-M's deliberative form of democracy. The present study contends that a key argumentative practice that likely contributed to the growth and development of 15-M's acampadas was what

²³⁰ Citizen-Audit, “Transformando crisis en Krisis,” International Citizen Debt Audit Network, published November 13, 2014, <http://www.citizen-audit.net/es/transformando-crisis-en-krisis/>.

²³¹ Julia Cresswell, *Oxford Dictionary of Word Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 108; Lin Chalozin-Dovrat, “‘Crisis’ in Modernity: A Sign of the Times between Decisive Change and Potential Irreversibility,” in *Discourse and Crisis: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Antoon De Rycker and Zuraidah Mohd Don, *Discourse Approaches to Politics, Society, and Culture* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2013), 77.

this study terms “Isocratic moral argumentation.” This form of argumentation was inspired theoretically by two unpublished manuscripts pertaining to Isocrates by Michael Calvin McGee and Louis Althusser’s concept of interpellation, re-contextualized within the context of Isocrates’ *paideia*, allowing for the creation of a form of argumentative interpretation.

This chapter has considered how 15-M, engaging in Isocratic moral argumentation, borrowed Mai ‘68 *topoi* to create new protest logoi. Isocratic terminology has helped to explain how these new logoi served as “Interpellative Call[s]” to attract individuals to 15-M’s acampadas, in order to engage in the “Deliberative Action” of *synerchesthe*. In the acampadas, *synerchesthe* produced two “Communicative Outcome[s]”: wise judgment formation and the creation of unity among protestors. These insights illustrate how contemporary protest activity can be understood as an argumentative phenomenon, through the application of a theoretical framework based on argumentation theory and classical Greek rhetoric. Upon concluding the discussion of 15-M’s performance of Isocratic moral argumentation, the present study classified this form of argumentation as a meme of the 15-M memeplex and explored its subsequent replication by the four follow-on groups.

In order to study the replication of 15-M’s meme of Isocratic moral argumentation among the four analyzed follow-on groups, one artifact from each group was selected, based on its ability to demonstrate preliminary markers of this form of argumentation. The conclusions drawn from the comparative analysis of this meme’s replication demonstrate that it was successfully transmitted and replicated by each of the protest groups. Moreover, the memetic variance that was observed in this meme’s replication reflected differing rhetorical goals and served as further evidence of a successful performance of this form of argumentation. In brief, the hermeneutical merit of Isocratic moral argumentation, as a mode of argumentative study, is substantiated by its

ability to permit diverse modes of interpretation for a given artifact (e.g., *topoi*, interpellative affect, communicative outcome(s)), allowing one to engage with multiple rhetorical and argumentative dimensions in order to produce a detailed and historically-situated analysis. Continuing the discussion of 15-M's protest practices, the following chapter explores in greater detail 15-M's acampadas, with respect to the communication practices performed therein and their spatial politics.

3.0 SOL

In Madrid, demonstrators referred to Acampada Sol as a “city,” with one protestor describing it as “*un pequeño mundo dentro del mundo*” (a small world within the world).¹ This statement echoes a slogan from one of the acampadas: “*una ciudad dentro de la ciudad*” (a city within a city).² The citizens of the “city” in Sol (and elsewhere) were diverse in a multitude of respects.³ In the Sol Acampada, protestors mostly slept *al aire fresco* (outside), with some in individual or collective tents, amid an urban infrastructure comprised of tables, chairs, tents, plastic tarps, and cardboard installations.⁴ Protestors created an infirmary tent, nursery, reading room, libraries, kitchens, technical support area, garden, booths for various commissions, meditation and yoga area, reception desk for donations (only non-monetary donations were accepted, such as food and supplies needed for the functioning of the acampada).⁵ Maps were distributed in Acampada Sol among protestors illustrating the physical and organizational structure of the space (see Figure 3).⁶

¹ Toscano, “Testimonio En Primera Persona,” 77–78; Mònica Figueras et al., “La Ciudad Indignada,” in *Jóvenes Y Espacio Público: Del Estigma a La Indignación*, ed. Joaquim Casal et al., Serie General Universitaria (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011), 195; Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 23.

² Figueras et al., “La Ciudad Indignada,” 195.

³ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 22–23; Sánchez Cedillo, “15M,” 576; Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 17; Jaume Salmerón I Marro, *15-M: Indignados de Mollet* (Mollet del Vallès: J. Salmerón D.L, 2012), 47; Toscano, “Testimonio En Primera Persona,” 82.

⁴ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 21, 23; Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 15–16; Artal, *La Energía Liberada*, 235.

⁵ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 22–23; Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados,” 67; Toscano, “Testimonio En Primera Persona,” 80, 83; Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 16.

⁶ “Acampada Sol,” 15m.cc, last modified, December 18, 2014, http://wiki.15m.cc/wiki/Acampada_Sol.

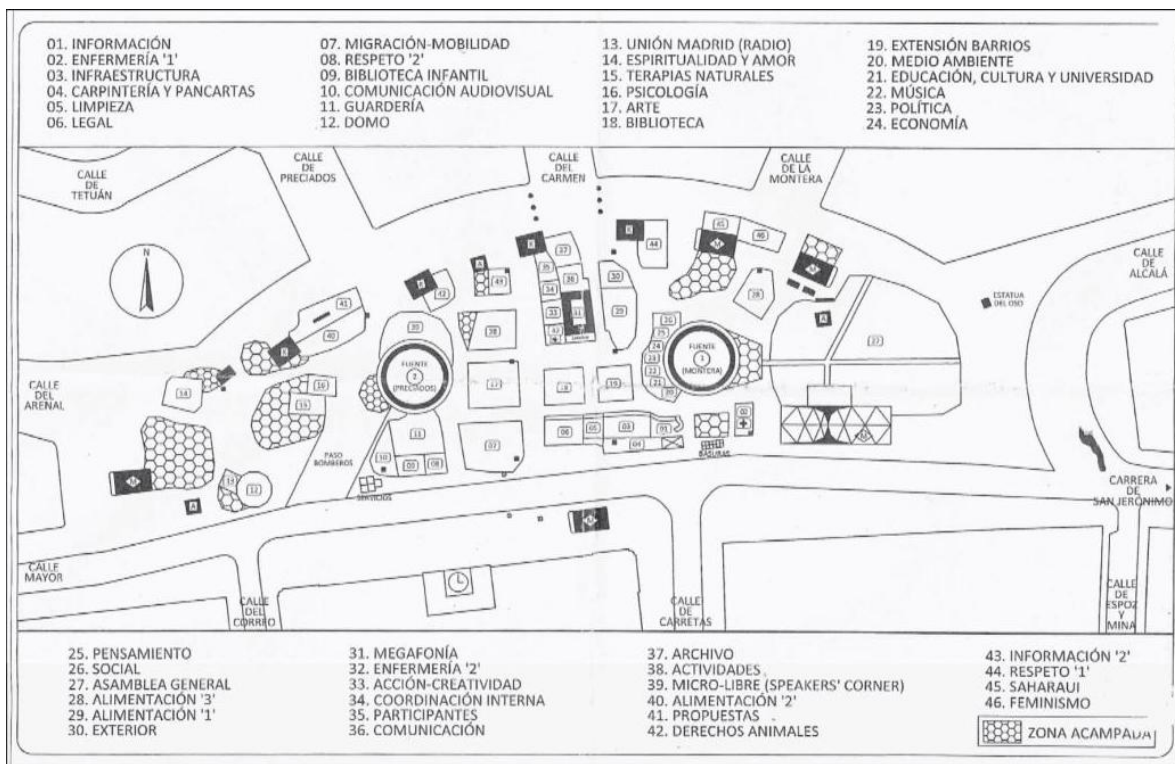


Figure 3. Original map used in Acampada Sol.⁷

In the “city within a city,” virtually all decisions were made through collective deliberation in *asambleas* that increased in number as the *acampada* grew and became more complex.⁸ *Asambleas* were of varying size and topic matters and met with differing levels of frequency and duration, depending on the overall needs of the *acampada*.⁹ Initially, the *Asamblea General* (General Assembly) was used to form decisions regarding how the *acampada* should be established and organized, subsequently leading to the creation of *comisiones* (commissions),

⁷ 15m.cc, “Acampada Sol.” [01. Information 02. Infirmary '1' 03. Infrastructure 04. Carpentry and Banners 05. Cleaning 06. Legal 07. Migration-Mobility 08. Respect '2' 09. Children's Library 10. Audiovisual Communication 11. Nursery 12. Domo 13. Madrid Union (Radio) 14. Spirituality and Love 15. Natural therapies 16. Psychology 17. Art 18. Library 19. Barrio Extension 20. Environment 21. Education, Culture and University 22. Music 23. Politics 24. onomy 25. Thought 26. Social 27. General Assembly 28. Nourishment '3' 29. Nourishment '1' 30. Outside 31. Loudspeakers 32. Infirmary '2' 33. Action-Creativity 34. Internal Coordination 35. Participants 36. Communication 37. Archives 38. Activity 39. Free-Mic (Speakers' Corner) 40. Nourishment '2' 41. Proposals 42. Animal Rights 43. Information '2' 44. Respect '1' 45. Saharan 46. Feminism, image key reads “Encampment Zone”].

⁸ Benítez Martín, “¿Democracia O Democracia Virtual?” 47; Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 16; Carlos Taibo, *Nada Será Como Antes: Sobre El Movimiento 15-M*, Mayor (Madrid: Catarata, 2011), 63; Observatorio Metropolitano, *Crisis Y Revolución*, 114. *Asambleas* were also organized outside of the *acampadas* in *barrios* (i.e., neighborhoods) and *pueblos* (i.e., towns).

⁹ de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 160.

subcomisiones (subcommissions), *grupos de trabajo* (working groups), *subgrupos* (subgroups) and to facilitate more efficient deliberative organization and decision-making.¹⁰ Consequently, the Asamblea General was thereafter designated deliberative body for salient decisions and served as the final deliberative stage for proposals that were created in the other asambleas (e.g., neighborhood asambleas, acampada asambleas, inter-acampada asambleas).¹¹

The comisiones and grupos de trabajo held their own asambleas and crafted proposals on an extensive variety of issues, which were later debated upon in the Asamblea General (see Figures 4 and 5).¹² Commenting on the purpose of the asambleas in 15-M's acampadas, a protestor stated the following: "assemblies in each of the encampments are essential not only for logistical reasons but also because everyday and mid-term tasks are outlined in their committees. Above all, they are massive, transparent exercises in direct democracy."¹³ This statement illustrates that this action was more than a decision-making device, as it also represented and upheld the communication ideals that 15-M wanted articulated in Spanish politics (e.g., direct democracy, horizontality, transparency).

The present chapter centers on 15-M's use of space from rhetorical and argumentative perspectives, focusing on Madrid's Acampada Sol as the primary artifact of analysis. An examination of 15-M's utilization of public space is informed by Hannah Arendt's concept of a "space of appearance" in conjunction with Judith Butler's nuanced understanding of this

¹⁰ Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 19, 21; Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona," 79–80, 83; Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 20.

¹¹ Toscano, "Testimonio En Primera Persona," 80, 84; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 21; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 71, 84, 94.

¹² Hughes, "Young People," 412; Espinoza Pino, "Politics of Indignation," 230; Perugorria and Tejerina, "Politics of the Encounter," 428; Castañeda, "Indignados of Spain," 312; Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 20.

¹³ John Postill and Sarah Pink, "Social Media Ethnography: The Digital Researcher in a Messy Web," *Media International Australia, Incorporating Culture & Policy* no. 145 (2012): 131.

theory.¹⁴ Such an analysis enables a productive discussion of how the four selected follow-on protest groups employ space in their protest repertoire vis-à-vis the 15-M memplex.

3.1 ASAMBLEAS: EQUALITY, RESPECT, AND CONSENSUS

In Acampada Sol, one could observe various *asambleas* discussing a variety of topics.¹⁵ The *comisiones* often handled issues that arose from the daily management and logistical operation of the *acampada*.¹⁶ For example, the Comisión Legal (Legal Commission) was comprised of 200 lawyers and handled legal issues that arose in the *acampada* and also provided a legal perspective on proposals.¹⁷ Grupos de trabajo formed and held *asambleas* around a wide range of topics, including the environment, politics, culture, education, and feminism.¹⁸ For instance, the Grupo de Trabajo de Medio Ambiente (Environmental Working Group) held debates on topics of environmental concern in an effort to formulate courses of action that would allow man to be in better harmony with nature.¹⁹ A protestor from Madrid, commenting on the number of grupos de trabajo, said, “Muchos se han formado porque la gente ve-nía a pedirlos, quería juntarse con otra gente a discu-tir tranquilamente. Además, así maduran propuestas que luego pueden presentar en la asamblea” (Many formed because people came and asked for them [working groups], they

¹⁴ Hannah Arendt and Margaret Canovan, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Judith Butler, “Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street,” *Transversal* no. 10 (2011), <http://www.eipcp.net/transversal/1011/butler/en>.

¹⁵ Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados,” 65.

¹⁶ Perugorria and Tejerina, “Politics of the Encounter,” 428; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 19; Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 16.

¹⁷ Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 22, 25; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 19; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rEvolución*, 16; “Quiénes somos,” Legal15m, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://legal15m.wordpress.com/about/>.

¹⁸ Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados,” 67–68; Espinoza Pino, “Politics of Indignation,” 230; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rEvolución*, 162; Perugorria and Tejerina, “Politics of the Encounter,” 428.

¹⁹ Medioambientesol, “Grupo de trabajo de medio ambiente. AcampadaSol,” Madrid Toma la Plaza, last modified May 31, 2011, <http://madrid.tomalaplaza.net/2011/05/31/grupo-de-trabajo-de-medio-ambiente-acampadasol/>.

wanted to come together with other people to calmly debate. In addition, that is how proposals that can later be presented at the assembly are formed.)²⁰ It should be noted that all projects, grupos de trabajo, comisiones, and asambleas were open to all who wished to participate.²¹ A better understanding of the style of communication that was practiced by those working and living together in the acampadas may be obtained by examining 15-M's asambleas.

15-M's asambleas may be characterized by the following characteristics: horizontal, pluralistic, inclusive, and respectful.²² The proposals that are debated in the asambleas may be presented by a comisión, grupo de trabajo, or an individual.²³ In order for a given proposal to be further developed, implemented, and/or realized by the grupos de trabajo, it must obtain consensus in the asamblea, meaning that there may not be a single person in the asamblea in opposition to what has been proposed.²⁴ Both the Comisión de Extensión a Barrios (Commission of Neighborhood Growth) and the Comisión de Dinamización de Asambleas de la Acampada de Sol (Commission of Dynamism from Acampada Sol) from Madrid created pedagogical texts detailing how to conduct an asamblea, enumerating its logistical and communication features.²⁵ In the guide by the Comisión de Dinamización two descriptions of an asamblea are offered, each providing differing facets that aid in obtaining an understanding of the significance and function of the asamblea for 15-M. Political science scholar Carlos Taibo describes the asamblea as “*una seña de identidad principal, e irrenunciable, del 15-M*” (a primary and undeniable symbol of 15-

²⁰ Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 23.

²¹ Espinoza Pino, “Politics of Indignation,” 230; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 69; Toscano, “Testimonio En Primera Persona,” 80.

²² Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados,” 68; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 82; Ángel Calle Collado, “Las Asambleas: La Médula Del Movimiento,” in *¡Espabilemos! Argumentos Desde El 15-M*, Libros de La Catarata (Madrid: Catarata, 2012), 107; Adolfo Estalella and Alberto Corsín Jiménez, “Asambleas Populares: El Ritmo Urbano de Una Política de La Experimentación,” in *La Democracia Del Futuro: Del 15M a La Emergencia de Una Sociedad Civil Viva*, ed. Marta Cruells and Pedro Ibarra, Antrazyt, Participación Democrática (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2013), 68.

²³ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 71.

²⁴ Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 19; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 71.

²⁵ Estalella and Corsín Jiménez, “Asambleas Populares,” 66; Carlos Taibo, *El 15-M En Sesenta Preguntas*, Mayor (Madrid: Catarata, 2011), 38.

M's identity); this statement is reminiscent of a comment by sociologist Ángel Calle Collado, who refers to the *asamblea* as “*la médula de organización y de acción del 15-M . . . su ADN*” (the backbone of 15-M's organization and action . . . its DNA).²⁶

The first definition describes an *asamblea* as: “*un órgano de toma de decisiones participativo que busca el consenso . . . [y] . . . los mejores argumentos para tomar la decisión más acorde*” (a participatory decision making body that looks for consensus . . . [and] . . . the best arguments in order to make the most appropriate decision).²⁷ By contrast, in the second definition, an *asamblea* is characterized as “*un espacio de encuentro desde la igualdad, entre personas que tienen un fin común*” (a meeting space rooted in equality, between people who have a shared goal).²⁸ Upon comparing these definitions, one is able to appreciate that the first definition highlights the procedural components and outcomes of this type of decision-making, while the second definition is more abstract, conceiving the *asamblea* instead in terms of space, one that is constituted and created by a particular communication dynamic and motive.

Regardless of which *asamblea* definition one references, both pedagogical texts indicate particular communication practices and ideals that should be articulated, in order for an *asamblea* to function. First, there are a series of roles that must be assumed by an individual (or group of individuals), which include the following: 1) Equipo-Logística (Logistics Team), Equipo-Turno de Palabra (Turn-Taking Team), Equipo-Facilitadoras (Facilitator Team), Equipo-Actas (Debate-Chronicling Team), and Equipo-Intérpretes (Interpreter Team).²⁹ For example, the Interpreter Team was comprised of one or two individuals who would translate the interactions of the *asamblea* into sign language and translate signed statements into Spanish in the *asamblea*,

²⁶ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 70–71; Carlos Taibo, *Que No Se Apague La Luz: Un Diario de Campo Del 15-M*, Libros de La Catarata (Madrid: Catarata, 2012), 25; Calle Collado, “Las Asambleas,” 106.

²⁷ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 70.

²⁸ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 86–87.

²⁹ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 73–81, 91–92.

thereby creating an inclusive environment for all who wished to participate.³⁰

An interpreter from the Barcelona acampada commented the following in reference to her experience in the acampada: “Conozco el movimiento asociativo sordo y cómo funciona y yo creo que para todo el mundo ha sido una gran sorpresa ver cómo se han implicado y han ido sintiéndose cómodos . . . para mí es por que [*sic*] todo es ‘tan ágora,’ que todas las opiniones valen, que a todo el mundo se le escucha, que bueno, que es muy diferente a otras formas [políticas . . .] ellos participan del proceso colectivo, no están para reivindicar sus necesidades sino las del colectivo” (I am familiar with the deaf association movement and how it works and I think that it has been a great surprise for everyone to see how they have been involved and have begun to feel comfortable . . . I think this is because everything is “so agora,” all opinions count, everyone is heard, well, it is very different from other [political . . .] forms they participate in a collective process, they are not there to claim their needs but rather those of the collective).³¹ Another testament to the inclusivity with which 15-M sought to conduct its deliberations is evidenced by the nonverbal and verbal communication that was utilized during the deliberative asambleas.

³⁰ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 79; Ángel Calle Collado, *La Transición Inaplazable: Salir de La Crisis Desde Los Nuevos Sujetos Políticos*, Antrazyt (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2013), 74.

³¹ Calle Collado, *La Transición Inaplazable*, 74. The agora was an urban public space in Ancient Greece where *eligible* citizens (i.e., those who were not slaves, foreigners, or women) debated ideas and political decisions “as equals” in an assembly. Lila Leontidou, “Athens, Greece,” ed. Ray Hutchison, *Encyclopedia of Urban Studies* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2010), 46; Ana Maria Cabanillas Whitaker, “Agora,” ed. Roger W. Caves, *Encyclopedia of the City* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 7; Jennifer Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 82–83.

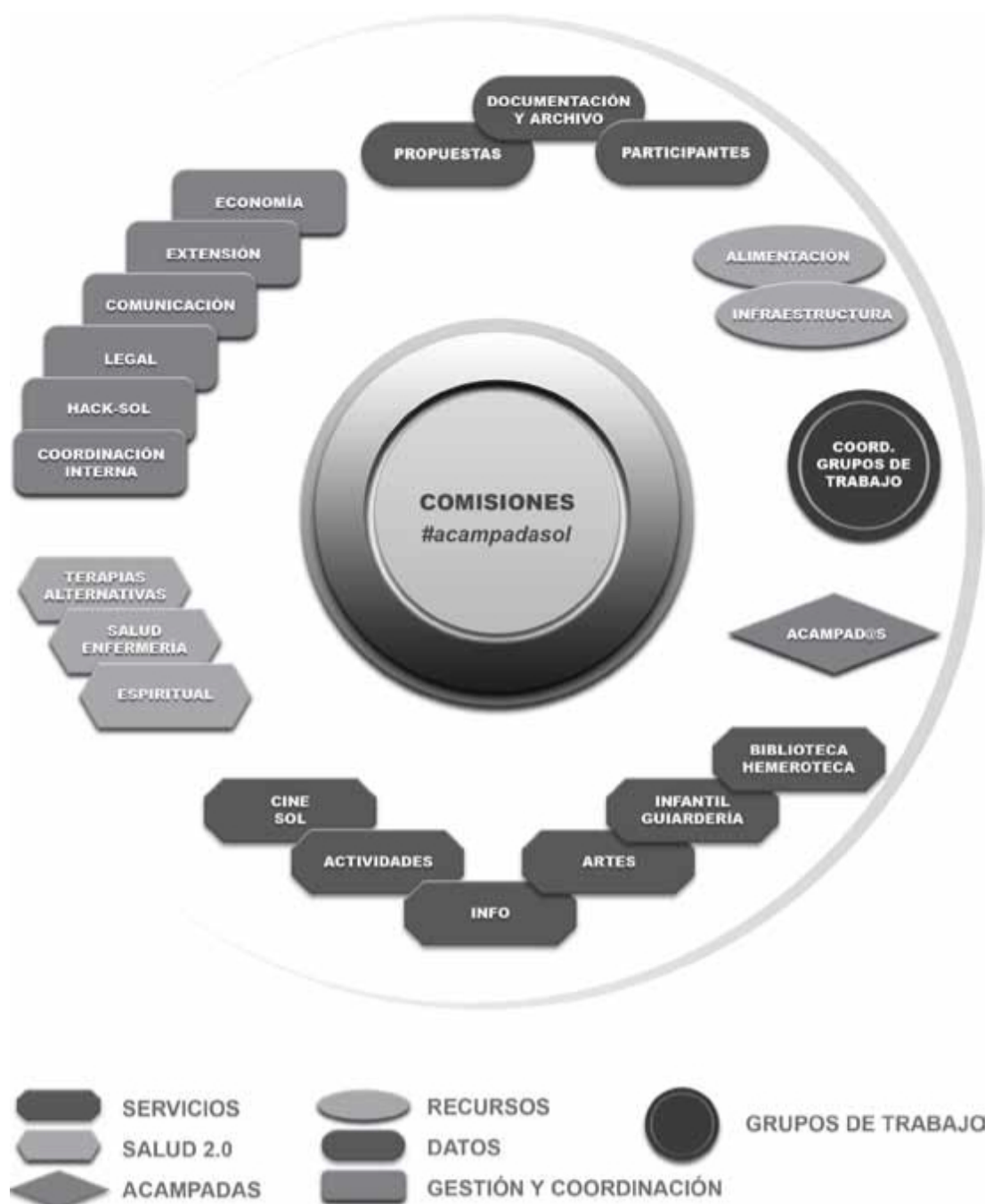


Figure 4. Diagram of comisiones from Acampada Sol.³²

³² de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 161. Translation of Figure 4: (Beginning clockwise, from top-right section of outermost ring of circle): (Proposals), (Documentation and Archive), (Participants); (Nutrition), (Infrastructure); (Coordination of Working Groups); (Encampments); (Library, Newspaper Library), (Child, Nursery), (Art), (Information), (Activities), (Sol Cinema); (Spiritual), (Health, Infirmary), (Alternative Therapies); (Internal Coordination), (Hack-Sol), (Legal), (Communication), (Expansion), (Economics). (Center of image): Commissions / #solencampment. (Image legend, from left to right, beginning on first horizontal row): Row 1:



Figure 5. Diagram of grupos de trabajo from Acampada Sol.³³

Services, Resources; Row 2: Health 2.0, Data, Working Groups; Row 3: Encampments, Management and Coordination.

³³ de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 162. Translation of Figure 5: Organization Chart / Commission of Working Groups / #solencampment. (Inner Circle, beginning clockwise, from top-right section of inner of circle): Respect, Feminisms, Sexuality, Science and Technology, Values and Human Rights, Spirituality, Social (Housing, Social Intervention, Penitentiary, Mobility, Minors, Cooperation and Development, Secularism and Religion), Animal Law, Environment, Education 0-18 (Formal Education, Legislation, Free School; Non-Formal Education, Professional Education, Special Education, University), Migration, Strategies, Ethical Journalism, Dialogue



Figure 6. Chart of 15-M sign language gestures.³⁴

15-M developed and employed a “democratic” sign language inspired by the sign language used by the deaf community in Spain, with the goal of “facilitating dialogue and respect among [all] participants” (see Figure 6).³⁵ 15-M sought to practice a style of verbal communication during its debates that involved the use of “*Lenguaje Positivo*” (Positive

Between Religions, Health, Thought, Culture (Cultural Thought, Education, Heritage, Cultural Management), Long-Term Politics, Short-Term Politics. (*Center of image*): Coordination of Working Groups.

³⁴ de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 168. Translation of Figure 6. (From left to right, beginning on first horizontal row): Row 1: (*Image 1*) In Agreement; (*Image 2*) In Disagreement; (*Image 3*) You Are Dragging On. Row 2: (*Image 4*) You Are Repeating Yourself; (*Image 5*) You Cannot Be Heard Well; (*Image 6*) I Do Not See Your Point, But Will Not Block It. Row 3: (*Image 7*) Speaking Turn; (*Image 8*) Translation; (*Image 9*) Technical Note.

³⁵ Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados,” 68; Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, “#spanishrevolution,” 19; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 81; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 168; Estalella and Corsín Jiménez, “Asambleas Populares,” 68.

Language) and “*Lenguaje Inclusivo*” (Inclusive Language).³⁶ Consequently, prejudices and ideologies should be left “*en casa*” (at home), as the deliberations should not focus on ideological discourses, but rather practical questions (e.g., what do we need and how can we obtain it?).³⁷ 15-M required that those participating respect the opinions of others, in order to allow for a peaceful deliberation that endeavored to generate “*inteligencia colectiva, unas líneas comunes de pensamiento y acción*” (collective intelligence, common lines of thought and action).³⁸ Therefore, the communication practices of the *acampada* may be described as adhering to the following pattern “exposition, discussion, and consensus by deliberative democracy.”³⁹

3.1.1 15-M’s Virtual Asambleas

The deliberations that occurred in the plazas also took place virtually in cyberspace on blogs, forums, websites, and social media networks (e.g., Facebook, Twitter) in addition to the 15-M-created social networks “N-1” and “VirtualPol.”⁴⁰ N-1 describes itself as a non-profit

³⁶ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 82–83.

³⁷ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 71.

³⁸ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 71.

³⁹ Espinoza Pino, “Politics of Indignation,” 232–233, 238.

⁴⁰ Juan Bautista Martínez Rodríguez, Elisa Hernández Merayo, and María Carmen Robles Vilchez, “Jóvenes Interactivos Y Culturas Cívicas: Sentido Educativo, Mediático Y Político Del 15M,” *Comunicar* 20, no. 40 (January 1, 2013): 65, doi:10.3916/C40-2013-02-06; Francisco Jurado Gilabert and Luis de la Rasilla, “El Movimiento Social Del 15-M: Reseñas Biográficas de Los Participantes,” *Revista Internacional de Pensamiento Político* 6 (2011): 271, 280, 283, <http://www.pensamientopolitico.org/Descargas/RIPP06263286.PDF>; Calle Collado, “Las Asambleas,” 106, 108; Figueras et al., “La Ciudad Indignada,” 219; Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, “Introducción,” in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 10; Fernández-Planells, “#ACAMPADABCN,” 90, 101–105; Calle Collado, *La Transición Inaplazable*, 29, 35–36, 91; Ángel Calle, “Democracias Emergentes: Movilizaciones Para El Siglo XXI,” in *La Democracia Del Futuro: Del 15M a La Emergencia de Una Sociedad Civil Viva*, ed. Marta Cruells and Pedro Ibarra, Antrazyt, Participación Democrática (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2013), 175; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rEvolución*, 173; Serrano Casado, “New Technologies,” 383; Luis Ruiz Aja, “15-M: IN-Terés Teórico,” in *El Descontento Social Y La Generación IN: 15M: In-Conformismo in-Ternacionalizado: In-Estabilidad, in-Dignación, in-Ternet*, Sociologías (Madrid: Editorial Popular, 2013), 42; Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” 174–175, 179; Carlos Diz Reboredo, “Políticas Del Cuerpo Y Heterotopías Del #15M,” *Revista de Antropología Experimental* no. 13 (2013): 92, http://www.ujaen.es/huesped/rae/articulos2013/MEI_05_13.pdf; Joaquín Valdivielso, “Sobre Si Es Posible Una Filosofía Política Del 15M: Una Tesis Y Algunas Hipótesis Provisionales,” *Astrolabio: Revista Internacional de Filosofía* no. 13 (2012): 427, <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/Astrolabio/article/view/257176>;

“*dispositivo tecnopolítico*” (techno-political device) created in order to provide activists with a safe and private alternative to commercial Web 2.0 services like Twitter and Facebook, guarding against the associated risks of an era “*de la vigilancia y del biocontrol, de la censura y la autocensura, de la creciente criminalización de las disidencias*” (of surveillance and biopower, censorship and self-censorship, the increasing criminalization of dissention).⁴¹ On N-1, the term “user” is not used but rather, “inhabitant,” in an effort to stress the purpose of the space as a place to build communication; the network was eventually “inhabited” by over 20,000 people.⁴² Similarly, on VirtualPol, the term “user” is not used, but rather “citizen.”⁴³ This social network provides a virtual plaza wherein the *asamblea* methodology used in the *acampada* is employed virtually. VirtualPol is a democratic social network where its “citizens” may participate in forums, chat in the primary chat room called “*la plaza*,” (the plaza) and in 15-M online *asambleas* and debates.⁴⁴ Facebook also became a virtual plaza for deliberation where users would debate multiple topics, such as politics and life in the *acampada*.⁴⁵ According to Javier Toret Medina, a cofounder of N-1 and member of DRY, many believe that Twitter has served as a 15-M *asamblea*.⁴⁶ In addition, protestors utilized Mumble, a type of software intended for gamers that allows groups of people to voice chat while playing a particular sub-genre of games

Colectivo Madrilonia, “Cuando La Gente Reinventa La Política: Lenguajes Y Actitudes Del Movimiento 15-M,” in *¡Ocupemos El Mundo! Occupy the World!: Barcelona, Madrid, Atenas, Túnez, El Cairo, Lisboa, Islandia, Oakland, Wall Street, Londres, Moscú, Tel Aviv...*, ed. Joseba Fernández, Carlos Sevilla, and Miguel Urbán, Antrazyt, Análisis Contemporáneo (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2012), 61.

⁴¹ “Acerca de,” N-1, accessed July 14, 2014, <https://n-1.cc/about/>. For a narrower treatment and analysis of 15-M’s social media use see, García-Jiménez, Zamora-Medina, and Martínez-Fernández, “Construction of Symbolic Power.”

⁴² Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” 174–175; Jurado Gilabert and de la Rasilla, “El Movimiento Social,” 283; “Preguntas frecuentes,” N-1, accessed July 14, 2014, <https://n-1.cc/faq/>.

⁴³ Ruiz Aja, “15-M: IN-Terés Teórico,” 42; Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” 179.

⁴⁴ “¿Qué deseas hacer?,” VirtualPol, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://15m.virtualpol.com/doc/tutorial-coordinacion-interactivo/presentacion#/title>; “Asamblea Virtual 15M,” VirtualPol, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://15m.virtualpol.com/>; “Documentación de VirtualPol,” VirtualPol, accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.virtualpol.com/documentacion>.

⁴⁵ Bautista Martínez Rodríguez, Hernández Merayo, and Robles Vélchez, “Jóvenes Interactivos,” 66.

⁴⁶ Jurado Gilabert and de la Rasilla, “El Movimiento Social,” 283.

referred to as “shooters,” as a space for conversation and *asambleas*.⁴⁷ These cyberspaces served to further expand 15-M’s possible venues for deliberation.⁴⁸

It may be argued that 15-M’s use of virtual space appears to reflect political science scholar Ramón Cotarelo’s assertion that the contemporary *politeia* is virtual and its agora is digital by establishing virtual (and physical) agoras that “*convierten la comunidad en polis*” (transformed the community into a polis).⁴⁹ This perspective is also upheld by scholars Ariadna Fernández-Planells, Carles Feixa Pampols, and Mònica Figueras-Maz, who contend that new technologies (e.g., cell phones and social networks) are the new agora of the post-industrial age.⁵⁰ In short, practically every detail of 15-M was decided upon in *asambleas* that occurred physically and virtually, through the “consensus model of direct democracy” and consequently served as a vital communication practice for the functioning of 15-M.⁵¹ Through transforming physical and virtual spaces into agoras, 15-M reclaimed public space as a place for debate and collective action, resulting in a revitalization of the Spanish public sphere and the growth of the Spanish

⁴⁷ Jurado Gilabert and de la Rasilla, “El Movimiento Social,” 283; Suñer et al., “Conversaciones Sobre Tecnopolítica Y El #15M,” in *Tecnopolítica, Internet Y R-Evoluciones: Sobre La Centralidad de Redes Digitales En El #15M*, Asaco (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2012), 18.

⁴⁸ Bautista Martínez Rodríguez, Hernández Merayo, and Robles Vélchez, “Jóvenes Interactivos,” 67.

⁴⁹ Ángeles Díez Rodríguez, “Ciberespacio Y Síntoma Comunitario: Una Lectura a Partir Del 15M,” *Temas* no. 74 (2013): 47, http://www.temas.cult.cu/revistas/74/06_angeles.pdf; Ramón Cotarelo, *La Política En La Era de Internet*, Ciencia Política (Valencia: Tirant lo Blanch, 2010), 106; Benítez Martín, “¿Democracia O Democracia Virtual?,” 36. The Greek term “*polis*” is often translated as “city-state,” but this definition does not fully account for the polysemous nature of this word, as it may also be understood as a “political community” of “self-governing” citizens, “enabling city dwellers to control directly all or much of their own government, and to feel a local loyalty.” Jonathan M. Hall, “Polis, Community, and Ethnic Identity,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. H. A. Shapiro, Cambridge Companion to the Ancient World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 40; Mogens Herman Hansen, “Poleis and City-States, 600-323 B.C.: A Comprehensive Research Programme,” in *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius: Sources for the Ancient Greek Polis*, ed. David Whitehead, Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre (Stuttgart: Frank Steiner Verlag, 1994), 15; Amy Claire Smith, *Polis and Personification in Classical Athenian Art*, Monumenta Graeca et Romana (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 5.

⁵⁰ Ariadna Fernández-Planells, Carles Feixa Pampols, and Mònica Figueras-Maz, “15-M En España: Diferencias Y Similitudes En Las Prácticas Comunicativas Con Los Movimientos Previos,” *Última Década* 21, no. 39 (2013): 126, 133, http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-22362013000200006&script=sci_arttext.

⁵¹ Benjamín Tejerina et al., “From Indignation to Occupation: A New Wave of Global Mobilization,” *Current Sociology* 61, no. 4 (April 17, 2013): 383, doi:10.1177/0011392113479738; Margarida Silva, “Southern Europe’s Outrage,” *New Presence: The Prague Journal of Central European Affairs* (2011): 61, http://prtomnost.cz/archiv/en/2011/2011_2.pdf.

“virtual public sphere.”⁵²

3.1.2 The Spatio-Temporality of Recovering the Greek Agora

Protestors from Acampada Sol anticipated this transformation, believing their *ocupación* of the plaza would allow them to “*recuperar su vocación de ágora*” (recover its purpose as an agora).⁵³

Through its aim of inspiring a socio-cultural change (i.e., using plazas as agoras), this statement evidences 15-M’s desire to implicate ancient Greek traditions in its modern-day protest praxis.

One indignado from the Madrid acampada commented the following with regard to the communication environment of the acampada, “*Tú ibas a la plaza como a un ágora donde tú podías participar, tanto a la hora de solicitar información como pasar a pertenecer a alguna de las comisiones*” (You went to the plaza as if you were going to an agora where you could participate, be it when asking for information or when belonging to one of the commissions).⁵⁴

Another 15-M protestor described the *asambleas* of the acampada as “*un espacio de debate al principio, muy importante, se . . . llamaba[n] ágoras, porque era espacio de discutir ideas de trabajar, además poner en común ideas muy contrarias*” (in the beginning, a very important space of debate, they were . . . called agoras, because it was a space to discuss working ideas, in addition to reconciling very differing ideas).⁵⁵ Aída Sánchez, spokesperson of DRY, stated that

⁵² Bautista Martínez Rodríguez, Hernández Merayo, and Robles Vilchez, “Jóvenes Interactivos,” 66; Pérez, “15M: IN-Terés Tecnológico,” 197; Raúl Asegurado Pérez, “En Defensa de La Ética,” in *¡Espabilemos! Argumentos Desde El 15-M*, Libros de La Catarata (Madrid: Catarata, 2012), 82; Josep Maria Antentas and Esther Vivas, *Planeta Indignado: Ocupando El Futuro* (Madrid: Sequitur, 2012), 190; Borja Rivero Jiménez, Diego Allen-Perkins Avendaño, and Jesús Márquez Neila, “Etnografía Del Movimiento 15m En La Ciudad de Cáceres: Análisis de Las Asambleas a Través de Tres Visiones Del Objeto de Estudio,” *Revista de Antropología Experimental* no. 13 (2013): 122, http://www.ujaen.es/huesped/rae/articulos2013/MEI_06_13.pdf; Fernández-Planells, Feixa Pampols, and Figueroas-Maz, “15-M En España,” 119, 125.

⁵³ Abrasad@s de Sol, “El Sol Sale Por Todas Partes,” in *¡Indignados! 15-M*, ed. Fernando Cabal (Madrid: Mandala Ediciones, 2011), 25.

⁵⁴ Calle Collado, *La Transición Inaplazable*, 82.

⁵⁵ Cabezas, “Asamblea Popular Del 15M,” 198.

15-M's agoras were like a type of group therapy session that was "*TAN necesario como el respirar*" (AS necessary as breathing).⁵⁶

Although many protestors employed the word "agora" to describe the deliberative environment 15-M created, it is important to clarify that 15-M's invocation of this term gestures toward a new, inclusive, and non-discriminatory agora, unlike those of ancient Greece, which prohibited the political participation of those who were not deemed to be "citizens" (e.g., women, slaves, and foreigners).⁵⁷ Consequently, the equality with which 15-M sought to imbue its agoras with has led a number of scholars to contend that 15-M established an isocracy (i.e., a form of government wherein power is equally distributed among all citizens) in both its virtual and physical agoras.⁵⁸ These quotes from indignados are a small sample of the many voices of protestors who compared the acampadas to a Greek agora, providing a contemporary venue for the ancient Greek deliberative argumentation of present-day problems.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 12.

⁵⁷ Valdivielso, "Sobre Si Es Posible Una Filosofía Política," 474; Hansen, "Poleis and City-States," 14; Teresa Hoskyns, *The Empty Place: Democracy and Public Space*, Routledge Research in Planning and Urban Design (London: Routledge, 2014), 20; Barrett, *Museums and the Public Sphere*, 83; Paul Cartledge, "Greek Political Thought: The Historical Context," in *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought*, ed. Christopher Rowe and Malcolm Schofield (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17, doi:10.1017/CHOL9780521481366.

⁵⁸ Benítez Martín, "¿Democracia O Democracia Virtual?," 35; Monedero, *Dormíamos Y Despertamos*, 23–24; *Collinsdictionary.com*, s.v. "isocracy," accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/isocracy>.

⁵⁹ Benítez Martín, "¿Democracia O Democracia Virtual?," 47; Corsín Jiménez and Estalella, "#spanishrevolution," 23; Silva, "Southern Europe's Outrage," 61; Calle Collado, *La Transición Inaplazable*, 72, 82; Antentas and Vivas, *Planeta Indignado*, 139; Luis Martín Cabrera, "15-M: El Lenguaje de La Revolución, Una Gramática de La Libertad," in *¡Indignados! 15-M*, ed. Fernando Cabal (Madrid: Mandala Ediciones, 2011), 93.



Figure 7. Metro sign prior to Acampada Sol.⁶⁰



Figure 8. Re-named metro sign.⁶¹

A more thorough understanding of 15-M's engagement with ancient Greece may be garnered from examining an important action that occurred in Acampada Sol, when protestors rechristened one of the plaza's metro stop signs "*PZA. SOLUCIÓN*" (Plaza of Solutions), modifying its original name, "Sol" (sun) (see Figures 7 and 8).⁶² This act may be interpreted as intending to convey that 15-M's plaza can produce solutions to the problems the Spanish people currently face, through 15-M's parachronistic use of ancient Greek argumentative practices, such as direct democracy.⁶³ Many scholars have acknowledged the parallels between classical Greek practices (e.g., the polis and agoras) and 15-M's protest praxis and have argued that 15-M brought to the present ancient Greek concepts, but with modern modification, such as the

⁶⁰ Jorge Bastida, Madrid Metro Sol, 2008, photograph, Available from: Flickr, accessed February 12, 2015, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/neo2001/2736353620>.

⁶¹ H. Hurtado, *Acampadasol - Plaza Solución*, 2011, photograph, Available from: Flickr, accessed February 12, 2015, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/58622914@N03/5743123437>.

⁶² Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 18; Víctor Marí Sáez, *Conectados, Endeudados, Indignados: Un Análisis Comunicacional Del Movimiento 15-M*, Contraste (Murcia: Foro Ignacio Ellacuría, 2012), 3, <http://www.foroellacuria.org/publicaciones/Contraste18.pdf>.

⁶³ Thomas Y. Davies, "What Did the Framers Know, and When Did They Know It? Fictional Originalism in *Crawford v. Washington*," *Brooklyn Law Review* 71 (2005): 117, http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=991678. The term, "parachronistic," comes from the word "parachronism" which is defined as taking place when an event or concept from an earlier time period is found in a later period of time. *Oxforddictionaries.com*, s.v. "parachronism," accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/parachronism>.

aforementioned example of 15-M's agoras.⁶⁴ One scholar, sociologist Carlos Frade, when commenting on 15-M's organizational behavior, contends that 15-M modeled itself in the image of a Greek polis in the acampadas; linguist Ana Ruíz Sánchez and philologist María Aránzazu Ruíz Sánchez echo this statement.⁶⁵ Moreover, communication scholar Paloma Fernández Fernández, in discussing the communication environment of the acampadas, argues that 15-M put into practice the Greek agora and in so doing “[ha] rescata[do] de forma inesperada el sistema de debate” ([has] unexpectedly rescu[ed] this system of debate.)⁶⁶ Fernández Fernández

⁶⁴ Caries Feixa, “Crónicas Del 15M: Del Campamento Al Ágora,” in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 55–56, 66; Toscano, “Testimonio En Primera Persona,” 70; Fernández-Planells, “#ACAMPADABCN”; Mauricio Perondi, “¿Nació El 15M En Porto Alegre?,” in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 158; Carles Feixa, “La Generación Indignada,” in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 205; Martín Cabrera, “15-M: El Lenguaje,” 93; Abrasad@s de Sol, “El Sol Sale,” 25–26; Juan Freire, “¿Volverán Los Políticos a Hacer Política? #spanishrevolution Y El Resurgimiento Del Espacio Público,” in *¡Indignados! 15-M*, ed. Fernando Cabal (Madrid: Mandala Ediciones, 2011), 52; Figueras et al., “La Ciudad Indignada,” 196–198; Monedero, *Dormíamos Y Despertamos*, 23–24; Marcos Roitman Rosenmann, *Los Indignados: El Rescate de La Política*, Akal, Pensamiento Crítico (Madrid: Akal, 2012), 44; Calle Collado, *La Transición Inaplazable*, 6, 29, 35–36, 42–43, 62, 74–75, 81–84, 91–92, 169, 199–201; Cañero Ruiz, “Movimiento 15M,” 81; Calle, “Democracias Emergentes,” 172–173, 175; Antentas and Vivas, *Planeta Indignado*, 139; Observatorio Metropolitano, *Crisis Y Revolución*, 114, 149; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 12; Joseba Fernández, Carlos Sevilla, and Miguel Urbán, “El Topo Quería Tomar (el) Sol,” in *¡Ocupemos El Mundo! Occupy the World!: Barcelona, Madrid, Atenas, Túnez, El Cairo, Lisboa, Islandia, Oakland, Wall Street, Londres, Moscú, Tel Aviv...*, ed. Joseba Fernández, Carlos Sevilla, and Miguel Urbán, Antrazyt, Análisis Contemporáneo (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2012), 22; Cristina García-Rosales and Manuel Penella Heller, *Palabras Para Indignados: Hacia Una Nueva Revolución Humanista*, Colección Indignados (Madrid: Mandala Ediciones, 2011), 14; Ruiz Aja, “15-M: IN-Terés Teórico,” 82; Requena Aguilar, “El Movimiento 15-M,” 17; Javier Toret, “Una Mirada Tecnopolítica Sobre Los Primeros Días Del #15M,” in *Tecnopolítica, Internet Y R-Evoluciones: Sobre La Centralidad de Redes Digitales En El #15M*, Asaco (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2012), 61; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 26; Jurado Gilabert and de la Rasilla, “El Movimiento Social,” 267; Diz Reboredo, “Políticas Del Cuerpo,” 96, 108; Valdivielso, “Sobre Si Es Posible Una Filosofía Política,” 474; Silva, “Southern Europe’s Outrage,” 61–62; Benítez Martín, “¿Democracia O Democracia Virtual?,” 35–36, 47; Nuria Pérez Vicente, “El Lenguaje Político Del 15-M: Hacia Una Nueva Retórica De La Indignación,” *Signa: Revista de La Asociación Española de Semiótica* no. 22 (2013): 574, 576, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/oaiart?codigo=4147561>; Ana Ruíz Sánchez and María Aránzazu Ruíz Sánchez, “La Reivindicación De La Libertad De Conciencia En Movimientos Ciudadanos Recientes En España: Manifestaciones Posteriores Al 11-M Y 15-M,” *Bajo Palabra, Revista de Filosofía* no. 8 (2013): 232, http://www.redjif.org/bp/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=425:la-reivindicacion-de-la-libertad-de-conciencia-en-movimientos-ciudadanos-recientes-en-espana-manifestaciones-posteriores-al-11-m-y-15-m&Itemid=186; Rivero Jiménez, Allen-Perkins Avendaño, and Márquez Neila, “Etnografía Del Movimiento 15m,” 114.

⁶⁵ Silva, “Southern Europe’s Outrage,” 61; Ruíz Sánchez and Aránzazu Ruíz Sánchez, “La Reivindicación de La Libertad,” 232.

⁶⁶ Paloma Fernández Fernández, “El Movimiento Ciudadano 15M Como Agente Del Cambio de Paradigma Cultural,” in *II Congreso Internacional Ciudades Creativas*, ed. Antonio Sarasa Cabezuelo et al., vol. 2 (Madrid: Icono14, 2011), 837, <http://www.icono14.es/actas-del-ii-congreso-internacional-ciudades-creativas>.

also notes that 15-M's *asambleas* provided citizens with the opportunity to “*exponer sus ideas, ser escuchado[s] y formarse una opinión*” (share their ideas, be heard, and form an opinion), similar to the ancient Greek tradition.⁶⁷ In light of 15-M's collaborative spirit and emphasis on horizontal debate, one may argue that 15-M utilized modernized classical Greek argumentation practices to jointly address local and national matters of concern. Twentieth-century political theorist Hannah Arendt's concept of “space of appearance,” from her 1958 book, *The Human Condition*, provides a useful lens of analysis for interpreting 15-M's use of space in its protest practice.⁶⁸

3.2 ACTION, THE SPACE OF APPEARANCE, AND POWER

Arendt clarifies her conceptualization of “action” following a discussion of the function, effects, and situatedness of the polis in ancient Greece.⁶⁹ For Arendt, action is both a reflection and requirement of the human condition of plurality, which is “*the condition . . . of all political life*” and serves as a key component in the creation of the space of appearance.⁷⁰ Margaret Canovan, a political theorist and scholar of Arendt, argues that one may understand Arendtian action as, “a very broad category of human activity that covers interactions with other people that are not

⁶⁷ Fernández Fernández, “El Movimiento Ciudadano 15M,” 837.

⁶⁸ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 198–199.

⁶⁹ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 7, 23. “Action” is the only activity that transpires between human beings without intermediaries (e.g., things and matter) (7, 23). Moreover, action is completely contingent upon the presence of others for its actualization (7, 23).

⁷⁰ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 7. By plurality, Arendt refers to the human condition of man's coexistence with one another being a coexistence that lacks sameness with regard to personhood, as “nobody is ever the same as anyone else” regardless of temporality (7-8). Further, Arendt also argues that human plurality is the “basic condition” of speech and action (7-8). It should be noted that Arendt also discusses action's connection to the human condition of natality; inasmuch as natality is symbolic and representative of beginnings, action is also related to this human condition (8-9).

matters of routine behavior but require personal initiative.”⁷¹ Henceforth, it is important to note that Arendt sees a close relationship between action and speech, framing her discussion of their interrelation in performative terms, as noted by philosopher Judith Butler.⁷² According to Arendt, speech and action possess a character of both “equality” and “distinction” and, through these “modes” (i.e., speech and action), the distinctiveness inherent to human plurality is revealed, allowing individuals to “appear” before one another.⁷³ In order to further elucidate where this type of appearing may occur, Arendt offers the Greek polis as an example of a space where this act of appearing occurred, as it provided a place for individuals to “act” together in the “sharing of words and deeds.”⁷⁴

Arendt further clarifies how the act of appearing transpires by introducing the concept of the space of appearance. The space of appearance is described as a fleeting, intangible *space* that is created during the course of “action and speech . . . between . . . participants.”⁷⁵ Put differently, the space of appearance is “the space where I appear to others as others appear to me, where men exist not merely like other living or inanimate things but make their appearance explicitly.”⁷⁶ Arendt notes that a space of appearance can occur at “almost any time and anywhere” and “does not survive the actuality of the movement which brought it into being.”⁷⁷ Arendt cautions that a space of appearance may be “only potentially, not necessarily” created “wherever men are

⁷¹ Margaret Canovan, *Hannah Arendt: A Reinterpretation of Her Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 131.

⁷² Butler, “Bodies in Alliance”; Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 178–179, 190, 192. Arendt contends that speechless action is no longer action, as it loses its “actor,” given that action is only possible if the actor or the “doer” is also simultaneously the “speaker of words” (179).

⁷³ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 175–176.

⁷⁴ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 194–195, 198.

⁷⁵ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 198.

⁷⁶ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 198.

⁷⁷ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 199. Consequently, one cannot live in the space of appearance and its eventual disappearance takes place when the action that created it ends (199).

together in the manner of speech and action.”⁷⁸ Thus, keeping in mind the conditional character of the space of appearance, the polis for Arendt represented a physical space that presented the potentiality for spaces of appearance.⁷⁹

The political thrust of the space of appearance as a concept for the study of political protest lies in its connection to power.⁸⁰ Arendt contends that power can never be stored or fully materialized, given that it can only be actualized.⁸¹ The process of actualization occurs only where “word and deed have not parted company . . . where words are . . . [used] to disclose realities, and deeds . . . to establish relations and create new realities,” thereby creating power between individuals who act together in this manner, in “action.”⁸² The “only” indispensable material condition for the actualization of power is the living together of people, “only where men live so close together that the potentialities of action are always present can power remain with them.”⁸³

In essence, this type of being and communication begets a twofold outcome with respect to power, as after action has occurred it is power that keeps people together and simultaneously the togetherness of people that keeps power alive.⁸⁴ Within the context of the space of appearance, power is what can potentially be actualized when these spaces appear. This analysis

⁷⁸ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 199.

⁷⁹ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 179, 199. A key element involved in the actualization of a space of appearance is the component of mutual recognition that transpires between individuals. This act of recognition serves to confirm one’s reality and constitute one’s “being,” which is “guaranteed by the presence of others” during the space of appearance (176, 199).

⁸⁰ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 200–204. Arendt propounds that power maintains the “public realm” and ensures the preservation and potentiality of the space of appearance (200–204).

⁸¹ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 200. The loss of power “kills” “political communities,” according to Arendt (200).

⁸² Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 200.

⁸³ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 201.

⁸⁴ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 201.

proposes to “rethink” the space of appearance in Butlerian terms for the study of 15-M’s spatial politics.⁸⁵

3.2.1 Judith Butler and The (Transportable) Space of Appearance

Judith Butler expanded the application of Arendtian political thought, specifically the space of appearance, within the context of modern-day political protest, in her 2011 essay titled, “Bodies in Alliance and the Politics of the Street.”⁸⁶ In this work, Butler discusses the problematic logic inherent to Arendt’s conception of the space of appearance and proposes to “rethink” this concept, in order to understand the “power and effect[s]” of contemporary acts of protest.⁸⁷ More specifically, Butler’s reconceptualization of the space of appearance involves examining the “bodily dimensions of action.”⁸⁸ Butler engages with the space of appearance in a far more literal sense than theoretically defined by Arendt, insofar as Butler discusses the potentiality for this intangible space in relation to the physical presence of bodies.

Butler builds her analysis of Arendt by first briefly establishing lines of assertion related to the space of appearance that Arendt makes in *The Human Condition*, such as that “all political action” requires the space of appearance, which lies “between” individuals, and that politics “brings about” this very space.⁸⁹ Butler’s performative perspective becomes readily apparent in her critique, given her belief that there is a “strong performative” inherent to Arendt’s characterization of what politics requires (i.e., actively making and entering into the space of appearance), being that a space of politics, or space of appearance, as it is also understood by

⁸⁵ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

⁸⁶ This essay was also delivered as a lecture forming part of a series called, “The State of Things” organized by the Office for Contemporary Art Norway (OCA) in Venice, Italy on September 7, 2011.

⁸⁷ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

⁸⁸ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

⁸⁹ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

Butler, is brought into existence through “*acting*” together (emphasis added).⁹⁰ Butler’s critiques remain largely meta-theoretical, in that they focus on the implicit/explicit suppositions and assumptions that influence Arendt’s account of politics and consequently the space of appearance.

Butler indicates that she agrees with Arendt with respect to the view that action creates space; however, this very point is also a source of slight conceptual divergence between the two.⁹¹ Butler challenges Arendt’s understanding of action as possessing the “exclusive” capability to create location, as for Butler, this understanding “forgets or refuses” to acknowledge that “action is always supported and invariably . . . bodily, even in its virtual forms.”⁹² For Butler, action maintains an intrinsic corporal component, which may be observed in the types of support (e.g., financial, nutritional, emotional, political) that action necessitates in order to be realized; thus illustrating the interdependency between action and the body.⁹³ Furthering this argument, for Butler, material supports form “part of action,” insofar as they serve as facilitators and also often the *raison d’être* of the action itself.⁹⁴ For example, in situations where action is initiated due to low unemployment levels, one is able to appreciate the manner in which the support is also the cause of political struggle. In essence, this first critique endeavors to highlight how Arendt’s description of action neglects to fully develop its connection to the body and the preexisting supports that action entails. This also becomes a critique of the space of appearance by virtue of the fact that plural action is what provides the potential for a space of appearance.

⁹⁰ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” Butler suggests that “acting” transpires while the actors are simultaneously being “formed by . . . history and its material structures.”

⁹¹ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

⁹² Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

⁹³ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

⁹⁴ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” To clarify, material supports enable or make possible the action, and could also be the reasons for the initiated action.

The second issue that Butler takes with the space of appearance has to do with its accessibility, due to distinctions between public and private that operate in Arendt's work.⁹⁵ Specifically, Butler finds the gender politics present in Arendt's distinction between the public and private sphere to be problematic, being that the distinction established precludes certain bodies from entering the sphere of politics, as in the ancient Greek polis; defining the public sphere, in part, through the absence of certain bodies.⁹⁶ This distinction places only the "masculine" body in the public sphere, excluding "female, ageing, foreign, childish, and pre-political bodies" to the private sphere.⁹⁷ In light of the conditions that Arendt places on what brings the space of appearance into being, it becomes apparent that only the individuals who can form part of the plurality have the potential to create this space. Consequently, those excluded from forming part of the plurality are left unable to appear and "deprived of reality."⁹⁸

As a result, Butler asserts that the space of appearance is defined in part by exclusion, given that there is a pre-existing power that operates allowing only certain bodies to become part of the plurality and enter into a space that can potentially create a space of appearance.⁹⁹ Butler questions the political status of those who are excluded from the plurality and contends that if one adopts Arendt's view, we accept an understanding of politics that delimits *what* and *who* is political.¹⁰⁰ The crux of this issue is that Arendt's distinction of public and private perpetuates pre-existing power structures, which keep certain bodies in a pre-political stasis, unable to form part of a plurality in the sphere of politics.

⁹⁵ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

⁹⁶ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

⁹⁷ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

⁹⁸ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

⁹⁹ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁰⁰ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance." A polis-rooted perspective would likely "disregard" and "devalue" political agency from extra-political and pre-political domains. Furthermore, it would consider those outside of the plurality to be "unreal or unrealized" and thus in a state of alterity "outside the political." It should be noted that Butler acknowledges that Arendt does "not" consistently follow this model of thought present in *The Human Condition*.

Thus, for Butler, this distinction excludes a multitude of bodies of differing intersectionalities from being political, depriving them of the potential to create a space of appearance. This very issue is closely related to Butler's third point of contention, which is the "operation of power" in Arendt's theorization of "the political," as it maintains a type of "topographical or even architectural regulation" of bodies.¹⁰¹ Specifically, Butler finds problematic that Arendt negates to account for "foreclosure and differential allocation of *whether* and *how* the body may appear" in her description of "the political" (emphasis added).¹⁰² In Arendt's existing account of "the political," there is no acknowledgement of how existing power structures restrict certain bodies and impede their political involvement, which Butler contends to be a critical component in understanding the functioning of politics.¹⁰³

A common theme emerges from Butler's critique of Arendt: Arendt's description of "the political" leads to a perpetuation of pre-political bodies ostensibly unable to engage with politics in the public sphere. Butler concludes that an Arendtian position "cannot account" for the manner in which structures of power act upon the body, become part of the body's action, and impact a body's appearance within the public sphere.¹⁰⁴ As such, Butler proposes that discussions of power and politics think about bodies in a manner that "Arendt does not" and how space acts upon the body in multiple respects.¹⁰⁵ Butler suggests that Arendt's position toward politics be re-conceived for the present day, as a result of the "problematic divisions of labor" present in her

¹⁰¹ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁰² Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁰³ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁰⁴ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁰⁵ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

views.¹⁰⁶ This division is apparent in the separation of bodies between the public (political) sphere and private (pre-political) sphere.¹⁰⁷

Articulating her own proposal, Butler presents one example of rethinking the “space of appearance” by presenting a brief overview of its interaction with live streaming technology during protests, to emphasize the need to engage with bodies in the present day in a manner unaccounted for by Arendt. For Butler, protests that take place in the streets obtain their political force *only* when both an audible and visual representation of the scene (e.g., protests/demonstrations) is “communicated in live time,” (e.g., live streaming) (emphasis added).¹⁰⁸ Live streaming allows the media to transcend from spectators to actors in the scene and action therein, according to Butler.¹⁰⁹

Butler argues that the media constitute the spatio-temporality of a scene in a manner that “includes and [transcends]” its local occurrence.¹¹⁰ As such, when the scene from a protest travels, via live streaming, it exists in two locations: the present “here” of the scene and the destined “there” where it will go.¹¹¹ Butler does not fully develop her discussion of the dimensions of protestors as emitters of scenes, but more so focuses on how bodies continue to play a vital role in transporting scenes of protests to a global audience.¹¹² For Butler, there is a fundamental link between the bodies that protest in the street and the media that “report” their actions, for although they carry out different actions, both rely critically upon the body for their

¹⁰⁶ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

¹⁰⁷ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” According to Butler, the bodies of the private sphere function as a precondition that make the existence of the public sphere possible.

¹⁰⁸ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

¹⁰⁹ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” Operating within this line of thought, “the media *is* [*sic*] the scene,” insofar as they serve as a replicated and extended version of the space from the scene.

¹¹⁰ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” Exceeding the “local” is accomplished by virtue of the scene’s potential communication with a global audience.

¹¹¹ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” Without this multi-modal existence, the scene would not be the scene that it is.

¹¹² Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

realization.¹¹³ Butler asserts that in tandem, these two actions of protest and real-time reporting create a transportable Arendtian space of appearance.¹¹⁴ Therefore, Butler contends that the analysis of the contemporary public sphere needs to think of bodies in two modalities with respect to space and time.¹¹⁵

Re-thinking the space of appearance, in Arendtian and Butlerian terms, creates a theoretical framework that more closely mirrors 15-M's protest practices. One example of 15-M's articulation of a Butlerian space of appearance may be illustrated by the fact that 15-M did not uphold Arendt's distinction between public and private in its protest praxis, but rather elected to abolish this divide in two important ways. The first way relates to the environment of the *acampada*, which served as a nexus for the confluence of the conventional public and private spheres.¹¹⁶ While the *acampada* was a place for political debates (i.e., sphere of politics), it also was a place where the necessities and maintenance of life (e.g., water closets, kitchens, sleeping quarters) were provided, used, and addressed (i.e., sphere of the household) on the same stage as politics, at times forming part of 15-M's very protest claims.¹¹⁷ Thus, 15-M existed in an environment that merged these two spheres, making the realization of action a more probable potentiality.

The second way that 15-M occluded Arendt's delineation between the public and private is exemplified in its communication practices. As noted by Butler, Arendt's distinction of the public and private limits political involvement through its re-articulation of polis-based views.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹¹⁴ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹¹⁵ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance." Butler disagrees with those who claim that the onset of social media have allowed for a "disembodiment of the public sphere," as Butler sees an interconnectedness between protesting bodies and media. This interconnectedness relates to the media's need of bodies on the street to create the scene, and the scene's requirement of media to exist on a global level.

¹¹⁶ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹¹⁷ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹¹⁸ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

Unlike Arendt's restrictive understanding of who is allowed to be political and who is given the potential to create a space of appearance, 15-M allowed all who wished to engage in politics a space to do so physically in the *asambleas* of its *acampadas* or online. This opportunity allowed bodies of diverse intersectionalities an opportunity to form part of a plurality, thereby granting them the potential to appear and create a space of appearance through coming together in word and deed, in physical and virtual *acampadas*.

To illustrate, through engaging in politics in its *acampadas*, 15-M bypassed the pre-existing power structures in Arendt's theorization of the space of appearance that impede an inclusive political engagement. Moreover, this may be thought of as another example of 15-M's effort to bring about a new political climate, one that challenges pre-existing power structures in the dominant venues of politics that keep certain bodies in a pre-political state. Further, it becomes apparent that Arendt's conditions for the actualization of a space of appearance do not adequately reflect the relations of equality that were maintained in 15-M's *acampadas*. However, this does not mean that the space of appearance is an unsuitable concept to apply to 15-M, but rather it should be applied in a critical manner that accounts for the new conditions that have entered and affect the human condition.

3.2.1.1 15-M and The Space of Appearance

Given that 15-M's functioning heavily relied on debate (i.e., *asambleas*) as a medium for communicating and decision-making, upon recalling one of 15-M's descriptions of an *asamblea*, overarching conceptual commonalities appear between this form of communication and the space of appearance, on a corporeal level. When comparing 15-M's description of an *asamblea*, "a meeting *space* rooted in equality, *between people* that have a shared goal" and Arendt's description of the polis, (which was a space where the space of appearance had the potential to

appear) as the “true *space* [lying] *between people* living together for this purpose [of acting and speaking together], no matter where they happen to be,” one is able to appreciate the conceptual similarities that arise between these two descriptions, highlighting their theoretical suitability for critically employing the space of appearance for the study of 15-M’s spatial politics (emphasis added).¹¹⁹ Moreover, if one considers that 15-M’s *asambleas* involved collective efforts, such as voting (i.e., “action”), dialogue between protestors (i.e., “speech”), in a multitude of online and offline venues (i.e., occurring nearly “anywhere”), and “the presence of others,” it may be argued that its communication practices in its *acampadas* created an environment that provided the potential for spaces of appearance.

On a microscopic level, 15-M’s physical and virtual *acampadas* were environments of support and equality that gave everyone the opportunity to potentially create a space of appearance. We can appreciate that, on a macroscopic level, this is a critical factor to take into consideration in the larger scope of 15-M’s protest efforts, as the *acampadas* were spaces where power could be actualized, thereby contesting pre-existing power structures. Upon recalling Arendt’s “only” material condition for the actualization of power (i.e., the living together of people), we can agree that the *acampadas* provided for this very condition, thereby allowing “power [to] remain with them” (i.e., 15-M).¹²⁰

By virtue of 15-M’s *acampadas* and *asambleas*, we observe the perpetual actualization of a disputed political power through the abandonment of the Arendtian public and private divide. This allowed 15-M to maintain relations of equality and provide supports for action that gave way to an environment that created the potentiality for spaces of appearance. At this point in time, it is important to consider how the space of appearance relates specifically to 15-M’s use of

¹¹⁹ Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 86–87; Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 201.

¹²⁰ Arendt and Canovan, *The Human Condition*, 201.

virtual space, a key component of its protest praxis. Further exploring the applicability of the space of appearance vis-à-vis 15-M, the following section examines 15-M's asamblea practices that took place in a liminal space, wherein the physical and the virtual converged to create what Butler believes to be a transportable space of appearance.¹²¹

3.2.2 15-M's Use of Liminal Space

As a protest group born in the twenty-first century, 15-M swiftly made use of cutting-edge forms of connectivity and interactivity in its protest praxis. A number of the technologies employed by 15-M "bridged" physical and virtual space and resulted in the creation of a liminal space for communication between protestors. One particularly useful illustration of this liminal space is 15-M's use of streaming technologies, such as Bambuser, Livestream, Ustream, and its own creation, as in the case of Madrid's acampada: SolTV.¹²² Acampadas in Madrid and Barcelona installed streaming technology within the first few days of their erection; acampadas in other Spanish cities soon followed suit.¹²³ With the use of streaming technology, debates in the acampadas could be viewed by connecting to the various streams emitted from the acampadas, making the asambleas remotely accessible.¹²⁴ This feature allowed those who were

¹²¹ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹²² Requena Aguilar, "El Movimiento 15-M," 25.

¹²³ Fernández-Planells, Feixa Pampols, and Figueroas-Maz, "15-M En España," 120, 126; Salvador Martí I Puig, "'Pienso, Luego Estorbo' España: Crisis E Indignación," *Nueva Sociedad* 236 (2011): 9–10, http://www.nuso.org/upload/articulos/3803_1.pdf; Miguel Alfonso Bouhaben, "La Política Audiovisual: Crítica Y Estrategia En La Producción Y Distribución De Los Documentales Del 15M," *Fotocinema: Revista Científica de Cine Y Fotografía* 8 (2014): 248, [http://www.revistafotocinema.com/index.php?journal=fotocinema&page=article&op=viewFile&path\[\]=229&path\[\]=154](http://www.revistafotocinema.com/index.php?journal=fotocinema&page=article&op=viewFile&path[]=229&path[]=154); Andreu Feenstra, Ramón Andrés Casero-Ripollés, "Nuevas Formas de Producción de Noticias En El Entorno Digital Y Cambios En El Periodismo: El Caso 15-M," *Comunicación Y Hombre* 8 (2012): 133, http://www.comunicacionyhombre.com/pdfs/08_i_feenstraycasero.pdf; Manfield, "En-Clave de Sol," 222; Bautista Martínez Rodríguez, Hernández Merayo, and Robles Vilchez, "Jóvenes Interactivos," 64.

¹²⁴ Martí I Puig, "'Pienso, Luego Estorbo,'" 9–10; Miguel Tapia Martínez, "El 15M Y La Acampada de Sol. El Movimiento de La Gente Indignada: Análisis Sociopolítico 15M," *Madrid: Materia de Debate* 4 (n.d.): 228,

geographically, economically, or otherwise prohibited from being physically present at the acampadas a way to follow the acampadas' activities.¹²⁵

In addition, streaming software, like Bambuser, also incorporated chat boxes into the viewing area, wherein viewers could interact via text with those recording the stream.¹²⁶ For example, upon entering into the Bambuser stream from Acampada Coruña (from Galicia, Spain), viewers were able to submit comments and questions to protestors in the acampada through the chat box located to the right of the video stream and received responses (as illustrated in Figure 9). With regard to how communication unfolded between indignados in this liminal space, one streamer from Acampada Sol comments:

“El streaming tiene un chat, con lo cual las personas pueden estar interactuando en tiempo real conmigo. . . . Si a lo mejor estamos tratando un tema [en] que ellas son expertas, nos dan información. . . . Entonces no es solo mi discurso, es el discurso que vamos construyendo con las personas que interactúan conmigo offline y las personas que interactúan conmigo en el online” (The streaming service has a chat that people can use to interact with me in real time. . . . If perhaps we are discussing a topic on which they are experts, they give us information. . . . So this is not just my discourse, it is the discourse

http://www.clubdebatesurbanos.org/2013/12/publicacion-madrid-materia-de-debate_6223.html; Miguel Á. Hernández-Navarro, “Low-Fi Revolution: Cartonajes, Performances Precarias Y Estéticas Relacionales,” in *El Arte de La Indignación*, ed. Ernesto Castro and Fernando Castro, La Bolgia (Salamanca: Editorial Delirio, 2012), 114; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 61; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 163; Fernández-Planells, “#ACAMPADABCN,” 105; Alba Muñoz, “Del Síndrome Wikileaks a La Democracia 2.0: Las Redes Sociales Y El 15-M,” in *Las Voces Del 15-M*, Panfletos Del Lince (Barcelona: Los Libros del Lince, 2011), 40–41.

¹²⁵ Jurado Gilbert and de la Rasilla, “El Movimiento Social,” 283.

¹²⁶ Beatriz Pérez Rioja, “El Streamer, Entre El Periodismo Ciudadano Y Ciberactivismo,” in *15MP2P: Una Mirada Transdisciplinar Del 15M*, ed. Antonio Calleja-López et al. (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2014), 70, doi:10.7238/in3.2014.1; Beatriz Pérez Rioja and Javier Gil García, “¿Mercantilización O Revolución? Reflexiones En Torno a La Figura Del Streamer Como Nuevo Sujeto Prosumidor,” in *15MP2P: Una Mirada Transdisciplinar Del 15M*, ed. Antonio Calleja-López et al. (Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, 2014), 22, doi:10.7238/in3.2014.1.

that we create with the people who interact with me offline and the people who interact with me online.)¹²⁷

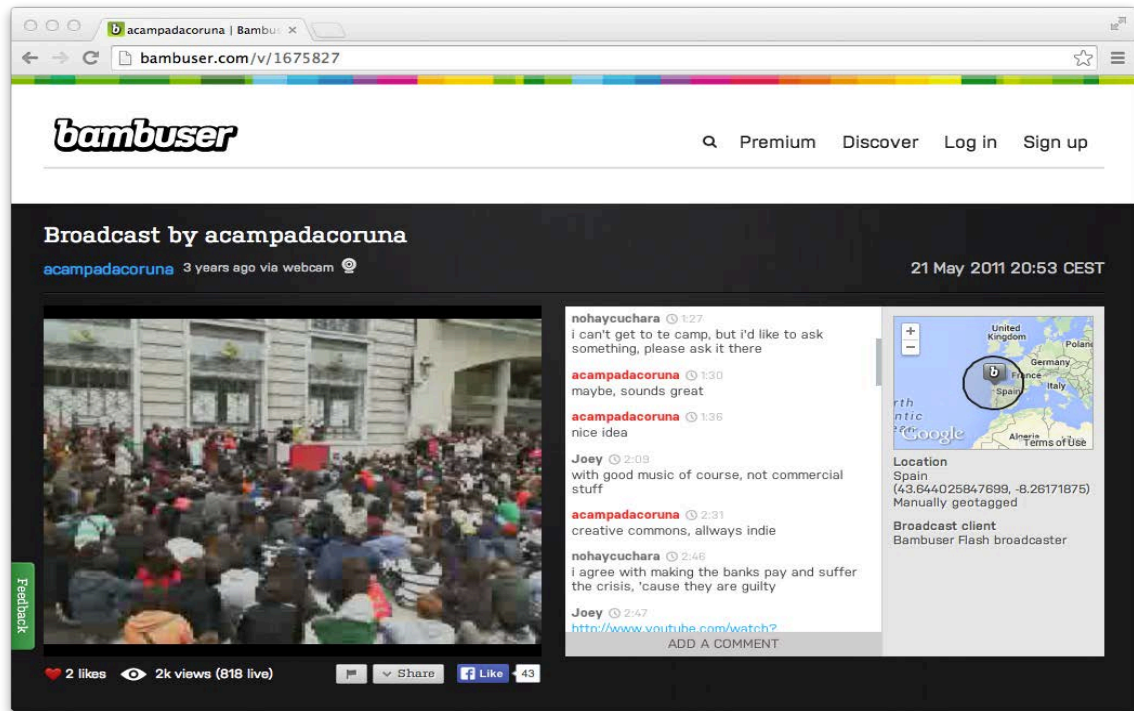


Figure 9. Bambuser stream from Acampada Coruña.¹²⁸

As an Acampada Sol streamer notes, 15-M's use of streaming services allowed for a new type of meaningful interaction to take place in real time between physical acampadas and virtual indignados. Moreover, this new genre of communication has been described by scholar of human geography Leandro del Moral Ituarte as "*desdibujando . . . 'lo virtual' y 'lo real'*" (blurring 'the virtual' and 'the real').¹²⁹ 15-M's use of streaming technologies opened a new realm of possibilities for protestor interaction. These technologies allowed live debates occurring in the

¹²⁷ Héloïse Nez, "La imagen, un nuevo recurso para la acción colectiva? Usos de la foto, del vídeo y del streaming en el 15M en Madrid," Congreso de la Federación española de sociología, Madrid, Spain, July 11, 2013, 8-9.

¹²⁸ "Broadcast by acampadacoruna," Bambuser, accessed October 1, 2014, <http://bambuser.com/v/1675786>.

¹²⁹ Jurado Gilabert and de la Rasilla, "El Movimiento Social," 280.

acampadas' asambleas to be viewed through the various streaming channels emitted by each acampada, making these events remotely accessible.¹³⁰ This particular feature provided 15-M protestors who were geographically, economically, or otherwise prohibited from being physically present in the acampadas a way to engage in its daily activities.¹³¹ Thus, *Acampada Coruña's* Bambuser streaming channel, and others like it, served to attenuate spatially-linked communication barriers, through transporting 15-M's agoras to a more flexible and democratic "shared" liminal space for collective deliberation. Equally important, these actions also served to create an atmosphere that Butler describes as a transportable space of appearance.¹³²

In 15-M's liminal agoras, one can observe the conditions necessitated for the space of appearance: "action" (e.g., viewers providing specialized knowledge to the acampadas), "speech" (e.g., communication and dialogue unfolding between streamers and viewers and viewers and other viewers), interaction occurring "anywhere" (e.g., between any acampada that offered streaming and an indignado, wherever he or she had Internet access), and "the presence of others" (e.g., the multitudinous number of viewers — some recording over 5,000 — following and participating in the live streams).¹³³ The present comparison further supports Butler's notion of a transportable space of appearance, as it illustrates the manner in which protesting bodies and the media (i.e., technology), which in this case stream their actions, require a corporeal presence to enable their realization.¹³⁴ Butler contends that together, bodies in protest and real-time reporting technology create the potential for transportable spaces of appearance, thereby

¹³⁰ Martí I Puig, "'Pienso, Luego Estorbo,'" 9–10; Tapia Martínez, "El 15M," 228; Hernández-Navarro, "Low-Fi Revolution," 114; Torres López et al., *Hablan Los Indignados*, 61; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 163; Fernández-Planells, "#ACAMPADABCN," 105; Muñoz, "Del Síndrome Wikileaks," 40–41.

¹³¹ Jurado Gilabert and de la Rasilla, "El Movimiento Social," 283.

¹³² Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹³³ Nez, "La imagen, un nuevo recurso," 9; Pérez Rioja, "El Streamer," 70.

¹³⁴ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

achieving a “political force” from their joint corporeal efforts.¹³⁵ As previously discussed, Butler asserts that protests transpiring in the streets can “only” obtain political force if the audiovisual from a scene of protest is “communicated in live time.”¹³⁶

With this in mind, 15-M’s use of streaming enabled 15-M’s agoras to exist in two spatio-temporalities (e.g., the “here” of the physical acampada and the “there” of the destined streaming channel) exceeding their physical occurrence in its acampadas, within a Butlerian framework.¹³⁷ However, Butler’s theorization fails to fully acknowledge a critical third spatio-temporality created during the streaming of the protest scene, from the “here” to “there”: the liminal.¹³⁸ The liminal is co-created through the interaction of bodies from the “here” and “there.” Hence, the present study offers this additional component to Butler’s theorization of a transportable space of appearance, in an effort to fully account for the dimensions of the body in 15-M’s use of space, as a place for collective deliberation, inclusive engagement, and participation in politics. In this new liminal environment, bodies, complying with Arendt’s “only” material condition for the actualization of power may potentially actualize power, through their argumentative practices (i.e., collective deliberation in their agora) that transcended conventional divisions of private and public.

To summarize, as of May 16, 2011, 15-M’s acampadas began to “occupy” plazas across Spain (and internationally). In these acampadas, ancient Greek practices met modern-day technologies and allowed for the creation of an innovative liminal space for communication. Through these acampadas, indignados, participating in person, virtually, or a combination of the two, parachronistically engaged in ancient Greek argumentative practices that provided an

¹³⁵ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

¹³⁶ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

¹³⁷ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

¹³⁸ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

atmosphere of potentiality needed for spaces of appearance. Nevertheless, all of this would have been very difficult to achieve if it were not for the meme of occupation, which enabled protestors to re-make politics in a way that allowed inclusive participation, the maintenance of relations of equality, and the provision of resources to support its collective action. Furthermore, the environment of the acampada encouraged collective deliberation and collective action that created the potentiality needed for (transportable) spaces of appearance that also met the Arendtian conditions needed for the actualization of a power, thereby delegitimizing State power.¹³⁹

The analysis performed thus far has focused on 15-M's use of space by examining the role of occupation, deliberative argumentation, collective action, and Web 2.0, which all comprise memes of 15-M, as such, these memes form part of the 15-M memplex. To review, as was noted in chapter one, a meme is a unit of culture (e.g. an idea, behavior, symbol, or ideology) that is transmitted by imitation (i.e., mimesis) and a memplex is the advantageous clustering of a group of memes that group together, in order to increase their replication potentiality. It is useful to explore the relationship between 15-M and the follow-on protest groups using this terminology, given that the rhetorical tradition's understanding of mimetic behavior reflects the phenomena being considered in the present study. The following section will interrogate more closely, how the meme of occupation is replicated, modified, and/or not integrated into the protest behavior of the four follow-on protest groups, in order to illustrate how these groups have been influenced by 15-M's use of space in their respective protest practices.

¹³⁹ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

3.3 THE INFLUENCE OF 15-M'S SPATIAL POLITICS

Within 15-M's protest repertoire, the performance of occupation stands out as one of the group's primary protest tactics. Through this form of protest, 15-M achieved greater media visibility, seized control of State-owned public space, and provided a means for protestors of diverse intersectionalities to promote their respective causes to the general public. The current section explores the utilization, variation, and nonuse of this protest practice among the four examined protest groups in relation to 15-M. The results of this comparison are discussed employing Judith Butler's twenty-first century treatment of Hannah Arendt's space of appearance, in order to determine how occupation provides a space for new political bodies and arguments in contemporary Spanish political protest. Prior to addressing the mimetic variation related to the practice of occupation between the follow-on groups and 15-M, revisiting Butler's treatment of this protest practice helps to focus the forthcoming comparative discussions in corporeal terms, critically highlighting occupation's connection to the space of appearance.

According to Butler, when bodies occupy a public space in a manner that contests the distinction of public and private, such as in the case of 15-M's *acampadas*, three effects are produced: 1) their bodies "lay claim to the public," 2) through seizing and reconfiguring the materiality of the environment, they find and produce the public, and 3) the materiality of the environment becomes part of their action.¹⁴⁰ As indicated in the first effect, Butler contends that demonstrations put forth performative power to lay claim to the public, opening "up time and space outside and against the regime," thereby questioning the legitimacy of said regime.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁴¹ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance." Butler propounds that when a group of people occupy a public square, without a permit or the protection of the law, this act elucidates not only the seizure of public space, but also the exercise of a contested and impeded right that questions the legitimacy of the State.

According to Butler, it is the very persistence of a plurality's occupation, by virtue of its "way of appearing," that questions State legitimacy.

The delegitimization of State authority arises from the bodies exercising a disputed and/or thwarted (by the State) right to persist, which requires "mobilizing" and the mobilization of material supports and space.¹⁴² This type of collective action results in the second effect: the reconfiguration of what will be understood as public and the "space of politics."¹⁴³ The reconfiguration and reproduction of the public is made possible by bodies, which for Butler are "modalities of power" engaged in allied action when they "appear and act" together, thereby making political claims.¹⁴⁴ Through their alliance, bodies enact the social order they wish to see reflected in their social reality.¹⁴⁵ Such as in the case of 15-M, which used the space of the acampada to create an alternative society that it sought to see reflected in Spain.

Butler places her observations regarding occupation in conversation with the recent revolutions of the Middle East (i.e., the Arab Spring).¹⁴⁶ Butler argues that these protests produced a space of appearance, through seizing established spaces in their occupation of public space (e.g., Tahrir Square) that represented "existing power."¹⁴⁷ Their actions erased the "[inter]relation" between the regime, public space, and the public square, exposing the limits of politics.¹⁴⁸ In these revolutions, like that of 15-M, Butler argues that "bodies on the street re-

¹⁴² Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁴³ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance." According to Butler, this type of action functions by claiming materiality and leaning into/drawing from its own supports to "rework" their functioning.

¹⁴⁴ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance." Butler further nuances her description of these bodies by indicating that they are both productive and performative, however, there are limitations placed on their ability to "act and persist." These limitations, or hindrances, arise from a lack of support, which may be in the form of nourishment, employment, and/or "modes of sociality and belonging." When supports such as those mentioned are unable to be acquired, mobilization occurs through seizing the existing supports to make the claim.

¹⁴⁵ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance." Two caveats are placed on this statement; the first is that alliance cannot be "reduced" to individuals, as individuals are not those who act in an alliance. The second condition states that during an alliance, the action that transpires within a "space of support" occurs between those participating.

¹⁴⁶ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁴⁷ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁴⁸ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

deploy the space of appearance,” to challenge and “negate” the political legitimacy of the State Apparatus that relies upon the “public space of appearance” for its “self-constitution.”¹⁴⁹

Nevertheless, these bodies face challenges when seeking to perform an occupation, as they confront the interpenetrating histories that saturate the structures of public space.¹⁵⁰ Yet, Butler argues that protestors can (and do) persevere in creating a new space, a new in-between of bodies that re-claims public space through the “action of new alliance,” provided that there is a hegemonic struggle of classifying the space of appearance.¹⁵¹ Butler suggests, operating under Arendtian logic, that the action that creates the space of appearance establishes a space that belongs to an alliance that is not tied to a locality, but rather engenders “its own location.”¹⁵²

3.3.1 Butlerian Occupation and 15-M

Employing Butler’s theorization of the outcomes of occupation within the case of 15-M provides a new angle of interpretation for the argumentative effects of 15-M’s spatial politics. 15-M’s occupation of plazas and subsequent creation of acampadas laid claim to contested public spaces, thereby reconfiguring the materiality of those spaces to produce, through allied action, its envisioned socio-political reality. The group’s performance of occupation served to “redeploy the space of appearance,” delegitimizing the State while contemporaneously making its own political claims, *through* the physical presence of the body and *by* bodies acting together to

¹⁴⁹ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” The bodies that act in this capacity, in Butler’s view, are described as being both “empowered” and “subjugated.”

¹⁵⁰ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” For Butler, these structures “work on” the bodies to “become part of their very action.”

¹⁵¹ Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.” The struggle affects the allocation and restriction of spatial locations wherein a particular plurality may appear and accordingly exert its “popular will.” Further, this struggle exemplifies the manner in which power functions through “foreclosure and differential allocation” to preclude certain bodies from appearing.

¹⁵² Butler, “Bodies in Alliance.”

debate and form political views/decisions.¹⁵³ The acampada became a new space, a *stage* constructed by 15-M's argumentation practices, which enabled the group to illustrate its envisioned reality through its performance (i.e., their behavior and communication practices) and explicit social, political, and economic goals.

Thus, bodies served a multifaceted function in 15-M's argumentation practices. On one level, bodies became argumentative through corporeal persistence in public space (i.e., occupation), which, as noted by Butler, simultaneously delegitimized the State and contributed to 15-M's increased media visibility.¹⁵⁴ On another level, during the initial five days of its occupation, 15-M may have inadvertently produced one of the most powerful argumentative maneuvers of its prolonged protest, through its "figurative enactment" of *praeteritio*.¹⁵⁵

3.3.2 A Performance of *Praeteritio*

A performative study of rhetorical figures in contemporary protest contexts may be observed in the work of media theorist W. J. T. Mitchell, who explores the performance of an outdated synonym of *praeteritio*, termed *occupatio*, in his 2011 article, "Image, Space, Revolution: The Arts of Occupation."¹⁵⁶ In this work, Mitchell contends that the monuments of the 2011 global revolutions are the "space[s]; not figures, but the negative space or ground against which a figure appears . . . that circulates globally . . . the figure of *occupation* itself."¹⁵⁷ Mitchell further

¹⁵³ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁵⁴ Butler, "Bodies in Alliance."

¹⁵⁵ G. Thomas Goodnight, "Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans 'Manoeuvring Strategically with Praeteritio: An Analysis of Manifestations and Effects of Pseudo-Omissions,'" in *Dissensus and the Search for Common Ground*, ed. Hans V. Hansen et al. (Windsor: OSSA, 2007), 1–2, <http://scholar.uwindsor.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1392&context=ossaarchive>.

¹⁵⁶ W. J. T. Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution: The Arts of Occupation," *Critical Inquiry* 39, no. 1 (2012): 8–32, doi:10.1086/668048.

¹⁵⁷ Mitchell, "Image, Space, Revolution," 9.

clarifies his understanding of “occupation,” by acknowledging a selection of denotations of the word as both a performative corporeal act of protest and also “a discursive and rhetorical operation . . . directly linked to the trope of *occupatio*” (i.e., “anticipating an adversary’s arguments by preempting them”).¹⁵⁸ Both *occupatio* and *praeteritio* are rhetorical figures that serve as two of the many nomenclatural variants of the Greek “prolepsis,” which over the course of history has been “divided into a labyrinth of sub-categories that designate minute differences in form or function.”¹⁵⁹ Hence, the present study will use the term *praeteritio*, which, in recent years, has received renewed interest in argumentation studies.¹⁶⁰

Although a variety of definitions exist for the term *praeteritio*, this thesis will employ the definition suggested by argumentation scholar Francisca Snoeck Henkemans, who has written multiple works on the topic. Snoeck Henkemans defines the term as a figure that “enables speakers or writers to focus the attention on the fact that they are not going to perform a certain

¹⁵⁸ Mitchell, “Image, Space, Revolution,” 9–10.

¹⁵⁹ Michael S. Mills, *Concise Handbook of Literary and Rhetorical Terms* (Lexington: Estep-Nichols Publishing, 2010), 131; John Kevin Newman, *The Classical Epic Tradition*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), 525–526; H. A. Kelly, “Occupatio as Negative Narration: A Mistake for ‘Occultatio/Praeteritio,’” *Modern Philology* 74, no. 3 (1977): 311, 314, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/437118>; Michael Leff and Jean Goodwin, “Dialogic Figures and Dialectical Argument in Lincoln’s Rhetoric,” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 3, no. 1 (2000): 59, doi:10.1353/rap.2010.0102; Richard A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 104. *Occupatio* is also known as: *praeteritio*, *preterition*, *paralipsis*, *parasiopesis*, and *cataphasis*.

¹⁶⁰ For further discussion of this rhetorical figure see, Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans”; Christopher W. Tindale, *Rhetorical Argumentation: Principles of Theory and Practice* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2004); A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans, “The Contribution of Praeteritio to Arguers’ Confrontational Strategic Manoeuvres,” in *Examining Argumentation in Context: Fifteen Studies on Strategic Maneuvering*, ed. Frans H. van Eemeren, *Argumentation in Context* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2009), 241–255; A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans, “Manoeuvring Strategically with Praeteritio,” *Argumentation* 23, no. 3 (2009): 339–350, doi:10.1007/s10503-009-9153-z; Frans H. van Eemeren and Peter Houtlosser, “Rhetorical Analysis within a Pragma-Dialectical Framework,” *Argumentation* 14, no. 3 (2007): 293–305, doi:10.1023/A:1007857114100; Christopher W. Tindale, “Constrained Maneuvering: Rhetoric as a Rational Enterprise,” *Argumentation* 20, no. 4 (2007): 447–466, doi:10.1007/s10503-007-9026-2; Don J. Kraemer, “‘It May Seem Strange’: Strategic Exclusions in Lincoln’s Second Inaugural,” *Rhetoric Review* 27, no. 2 (2008): 165–184, doi:10.1080/07350190801921776; Frans H. van Eemeren and Peter Houtlosser, “Kinship: The Relationship Between Johnstone’s Ideas about Philosophical Argument and the Pragma-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 40, no. 1 (2007): 51–70, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25655258>; Leff and Goodwin, “Dialogic Figures and Dialectical Argument in Lincoln’s Rhetoric.”

speech act and meanwhile smuggle in the information they allegedly are going to omit.”¹⁶¹

Snoeck Hankemans’ discussion of *praeteritio* largely relates to “speaker[s’] or writers[’]” use of this device; she specifically addresses how speakers and writers “make . . . clear [“in an indirect way,” at times,] that they will not convey certain information” and, nevertheless, “convey this information all the same.”¹⁶² The examples used by Snoeck Hankemans when illustrating how *praeteritio* may be realized are extracted from oratorical and discursive contexts that illustrate how this figure serves as a “combination of emphasizing and hiding.”¹⁶³

Further extending Snoeck Hankemans’ work on this rhetorical figure, scholar of argumentation Thomas Goodnight proposes an illuminating argumentative choice present to those who enact *praeteritio* in their argumentation.¹⁶⁴ This choice relates to the speaker’s ability to perform a literal or figurative enactment of this figure. For the purpose of this study, only the “figurative enactment” will be explored, due to its particular applicability to 15-M’s argumentation.¹⁶⁵ The figurative enactment of *praeteritio*, per Goodnight, involves a speaker making “it clear that there is an implicit motivation to consider a point at some length . . . But, while mentioning this matter, the arguer breaks off further overt development in the speech or essay.”¹⁶⁶ Employing this rhetorical figure allows a speaker to call attention to his or her discourse, thereby inviting “further thinking” on the matter by those in the audience.¹⁶⁷ Furthermore, according to Goodnight, this figure also performs the “communicative function” of unifying the speaker and audience.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶¹ Snoeck Hankemans, “Contribution of Praeteritio,” 253.

¹⁶² Snoeck Hankemans, “Contribution of Praeteritio,” 242–243.

¹⁶³ Snoeck Hankemans, “Contribution of Praeteritio,” 244–247; Snoeck Hankemans, “Manoeuvring Strategically with Praeteritio.”

¹⁶⁴ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Hankemans.”

¹⁶⁵ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Hankemans,” 1–2.

¹⁶⁶ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Hankemans,” 2.

¹⁶⁷ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Hankemans,” 1–2.

¹⁶⁸ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Hankemans,” 2.

Moreover, fellow argumentation scholar Christopher Tindale notes that enacting *praeteritio* “meets an important expectation of good rhetorical argumentation in that it creates the opportunity for the audience to become actively engaged in the argument, to complete the reasoning in some way.”¹⁶⁹ Tindale provides the following scheme of what *praeteritio* can look like, which will aid in understanding 15-M’s figurative enactment of *praeteritio*:

An arguer, *a*, draws attention to *x* while professing to avoid it.

The audience is invited (implicitly) to construct *x* for themselves.

x, so constructed, increases the plausibility of *a*’s position.¹⁷⁰

3.3.2.1 15-M’s Performance of *Praeteritio*

Within the context of 15-M, *praeteritio* appears to have been enacted inadvertently during the initial days of the group’s occupation. Being that 15-M’s communication practices depended upon deliberative *asambleas* as a means to communicate, the arrival at a consensus-based agreement on objectives and proposals often took a prolonged period of time. As such, 15-M’s time-consuming communication practices did not allow for its proposals and goals to be rapidly formulated, agreed-upon, and available to the public and mainstream media. To illustrate, Acampada Sol’s official sixteen-point proposal enumerating how the existing social reality in Spain could be improved, from the viewpoint of 15-M, was not released to the public until five days after the formation of 15-M’s Sol *acampada*.¹⁷¹ 15-M’s delay in revealing its official proposals gave way to much uncertainty and speculation among the general public and media

¹⁶⁹ Tindale, *Rhetorical Argumentation: Principles of Theory and Practice*, 80.

¹⁷⁰ Tindale, *Rhetorical Argumentation: Principles of Theory and Practice*, 81.

¹⁷¹ 15-M, “Propuestas aprobadas en la Asamblea de hoy día 20 de mayo de 2011 en ACAMPADA SOL,” Madrid Toma la Plaza, published May 20, 2011, <http://madrid.tomalaplaza.net/2011/05/20/propuestas-20-mayo/>.

outlets with regard to what was the root of the group's indignation.¹⁷²

When 15-M's initial proposal ultimately became finalized and available, on May 20, 2011, its circulation among the general public was slow. In an interview from the Spanish newspaper *El Economista*, published on May 20, one citizen commented, "*No sé muy bien lo que se pide*" (I'm not really sure what they are asking for) in reference to a question that inquired if the group's claims were feasible.¹⁷³ Another example of this uncertainty is illustrated in an article published on May 25 by the Spanish online news website *La Información* titled, "*¿Cuándo llegarán las propuestas de Acampada Sol?*" (When will the proposals from Acampada Sol arrive?) which stated, "[l]a opinión pública, los medios y los líderes políticos reclaman desde el inicio de la revuelta ciudadana conocer exactamente qué se propone" (the public opinion, the media, and political leaders have demanded to learn since the beginning of the citizen revolt what exactly they are proposing).¹⁷⁴

Through not initially revealing all of the "implicit motivation[s]" (i.e., why the group was protesting and what it wanted to change in the country) behind the group's indignation and occupation, 15-M arguably performed a "figurative enactment" of *praeteritio*.¹⁷⁵ 15-M's protest actions (e.g., occupation and acampadas) evidence that it had "implicit motivation" to consider a "matter" at length (e.g., why the state of the country should be protested); in its enactment of *praeteritio*, 15-M created acampadas and then "br[oke] off further overt [explanatory]

¹⁷² "¿Qué opinan los ciudadanos sobre el 'movimiento 15-M'?", *El Economista*, published May 20, 2011, <http://ecodiario.eleconomista.es/politica/noticias/3087626/05/11/Que-opinan-los-ciudadanos-sobre-el-movimiento-15M.html#.Kku8W2aM8DhXBwh>; Laura Pintos, "¿Cuándo llegarán las propuestas de Acampada Sol?", *Lainformacion.com*, published May 25, 2011, http://noticias.lainformacion.com/interes-humano/sociedad/cuando-llegaran-las-propuestas-de-acampada-sol_crOU3xiNJLAmXRm1GICQR/.

¹⁷³ *El Economista*, "¿Qué opinan los ciudadanos?"

¹⁷⁴ Pintos, "¿Cuándo llegarán las propuestas de Acampada Sol?"

¹⁷⁵ Others disagree with this interpretation; cf. García-Jiménez, Zamora-Medina, and Martínez-Fernández, "Construction of Symbolic Power."

development” as to why they had been created.¹⁷⁶ 15-M indirectly made clear that it would “not convey certain information” with respect to its “motivation” in the initial days of its acampadas through a performance of vocalic silence (i.e., during the five-day wait period).¹⁷⁷ Thus, through not explicitly and publically expressing its “motivations” (i.e., proposals for change/reasons for occupying plazas nation-wide), 15-M figuratively enacted *praeteritio*, calling attention to its discourse from the media and citizens alike.¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the initial uncertainty that arose surrounding 15-M’s protests may be interpreted as an effect of *praeteritio*, serving to fuel the public’s interest vis-à-vis the group’s protest and proposals for social change.

15-M’s enactment of this figure provided an “opportunity for the audience, [the Spanish public], to become actively engaged in the argument” 15-M was constructing (i.e., reasons to be in a state of indignation) *through* inviting “further thinking” from the public in the days leading to the release of Acampada Sol’s proposal.¹⁷⁹ In brief, with this in mind, the present study contends that *praeteritio* was an argumentative function of 15-M’s occupation, creating a stage wherein bodies of indignation were in an ever-present immediacy with the public, by way of the public squares that received high levels of media coverage in both the mainstream media of the country and on social media networks. Through what would appear, at first glance, to be an inadvertent action, 15-M effectively drew attention to issues that did not have a strong presence in Spanish public argument, or were not addressed in their entirety, sparking a national conversation that continues to the present in various follow-on groups that translate into action the claims for economic, social, and political change that 15-M demanded in its proposals from

¹⁷⁶ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans,” 1–2.

¹⁷⁷ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans,” 1–2; Snoeck Henkemans, “Contribution of Praeteritio,” 242–243.

¹⁷⁸ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans,” 1–2.

¹⁷⁹ Goodnight, “Commentary on A. Francisca Snoeck Henkemans,” 1–2; Tindale, *Rhetorical Argumentation: Principles of Theory and Practice*, 80.

the acampadas. For example, in the initial May 20 Acampada Sol proposal, proposal number two involved “[s]anidad pública, gratuita y universal,” (free and universal public healthcare), which is the chief objective of the Marea Blanca.¹⁸⁰ The following sections will explore the dynamics of occupation within the context of the Marea Blanca and the three other selected protest groups, highlighting the memetic replication that took form in this specific protest tactic.

3.3.3 Marea Blanca

The Madrid node of Marea Blanca organizes a monthly “*Marcha Blanca*” (White March) on every third Sunday in which the group’s members occupy the streets of Madrid, toting large posters, playing music, and often stopping the flow of traffic. The *Marcha Blanca* most frequently begins at Plaza de Neptuno, in the city center, and concludes at the Puerta del Sol. During mobilizations, physicians march in white lab coats and, in the company of nurses, healthcare workers, and patients, chant slogans, such as “*la sanidad no se vende se defiende*” (healthcare should not be sold, it should be defended) and “*sí se puede*” (yes, it is possible). Almost all of the marches from the Madrid node are coordinated by *Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid* (MEDSAP) (Committee in Defense of Public Healthcare in Madrid), a platform that explicitly refers to 15-M as forming part of who they are as a group.¹⁸¹

The Marea Blanca’s marches are visually striking, owing to the sea of thousands of alabaster laboratory coats that flood the streets of Madrid. The manner in which the Marea Blanca performs its marches may be interpreted as a mimetic variation of 15-M’s occupation, as the follow-on group’s occupations of State-owned public space (i.e., streets) challenge their

¹⁸⁰ Josep Maria Antentas et al., *Las Voces Del 15-M*, Panfletos Del Lince (Barcelona: Los Libros del Lince, 2011), 82–83.

¹⁸¹ Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid, “Quiénes somos.”

State-designated purpose (i.e., automobile driving), thereby transforming the space into a place for public protest, much like 15-M's transformations of plazas into spaces for deliberative democracy and protest. In addition, whereas 15-M's occupation did not employ a particular form of costuming, the physicians of the Marea Blanca often dress in white laboratory coats when participating in the group's marches. This mimetic variation may be viewed as a purposive adaptation on the part of the Marea Blanca in an effort to increase the persuasiveness of its message, through implicitly invoking the socially-attributed authority and credibility assigned to white laboratory coats (and their wearers). Thus, the utilization of these coats by physicians lends greater *ethos* to the arguments the Marea Blanca presents in public debate and simultaneously attracts greater visual attention from the media and onlookers. Similarly, the Yayoflautas/Iaioflautas also employ costuming when protesting.



Figure 10. The *Marcha Blanca* in Madrid by Plaza del Neptuno.¹⁸²

¹⁸² Adolfo Lujan, 20121216121122, 2012, photograph, Available from: Flickr, accessed February 12, 2015, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/popicinio/8277438785>.

3.3.4 Yayoflautas/Iaioflautas

Yayoflautas/Iaioflautas, a protest group exclusively comprised of senior citizens, is known for wearing lime-colored construction safety vests that are often emblazoned with text specifying the particular Yayoflautas node of the protestors (e.g., “Yayoflautas Madrid”) and/or protest slogans and demands. Furthermore, this group also takes to referring to itself as the “*hij[os] del 15M*” (children of 15-M), which makes clear the inspirational role of 15-M for Iaioflautas.¹⁸³ On February 1, 2012, the Barcelona node of this group, Iaioflautas, engaged in a particularly inventive form of occupation in a protest called “*Operació #rebellionbus [sic]*” (Operation #rebellionbus), where they occupied a moving public bus.¹⁸⁴ In this protest, the members of Iaioflautas occupied Barcelona bus number forty-seven to protest the “*abusivo*” (abusive) fee increases in public transportation and the service cuts to the bus and metro systems in Barcelona, imposed by Transports Metropolitans de Barcelona (TMB) (Barcelona Metropolitan Transportation).¹⁸⁵ When asked in an interview by the Catalan newspaper *Diari de Sabadell* how such an action (i.e., occupying a public bus) is accomplished, 61 year-old Celestino Sánchez Ramos, a member of Iaioflautas, states, “*Te montas un buen grupo, repartes hojas a los viajeros, cantas consignas y en cada parada te bajas, repartes y vuelves a subir. Pagando billetes, ¿eh?*” (You get a good group aboard, pass out flyers to the passengers, sing slogans and at every stop you get off, pass out flyers, and get back on. Paying the fee, understood?)¹⁸⁶ Sánchez Ramos’

¹⁸³ Iaioflautas, “Reinventarnos, una propuesta abierta.”

¹⁸⁴ Iaioflautas, “Operació #rebellionbus,” @Iaioflautas (blog), last modified February 1, 2012, <http://www.iaioflautas.org/blog/2012/02/01/operacio-rebellionbus/>.

¹⁸⁵ Iaioflautas, “Operació #rebellionbus.”

¹⁸⁶ Víctor Colomer, “Tenemos Menos Miedo Que Los Jóvenes,” *Diari de Sabadell*, March 10, 2012; Ofelia Ferrán, “Afterword: Memory’s Discontent,” ed. Luis Martín-Estudillo and Nicholas Spadaccini, *Memory and Its Discontents: Spanish Culture in the Early Twenty-First Century* 11 (2012): 230–232, http://hispanicissues.umn.edu/assets/doc/12_AFTERWORD_001.pdf.

description reflects precisely what happened in Operation #rebellionbus, as may be observed in a video posted online by Mònica Tudela.

During the occupation, the Iaioflautas used social media sites like Twitter to live-tweet what was happening, in addition to Facebook.¹⁸⁷ In addition, the Iaioflautas sang slogans and taped protest posters to the windows of the bus, so that those outside could see the message behind the protest in progress. Upon concluding their occupation, the Iaioflautas traveled to Plaça de Catalunya (an emblematic site of 15-M in Barcelona, equivalent to Puerta del Sol in Madrid), where they held a small *asamblea*.¹⁸⁸ The occupation of the bus line forty-seven presents interesting mimetic variations when compared to 15-M's occupation behavior. In many ways, the Iaioflautas created a modified, (trans)portable *acampada*, given that many of the actions they performed while on the bus mirrored actions 15-M performed during its occupation of *plazas* (e.g., chanting slogans and distributing protest posters), with the unique difference residing in the protest's mobility (i.e., Iaioflautas entering and exiting the bus and the movement of the vehicle). Therefore, unlike in the case of 15-M that relied upon the media and curious onlookers to become aware of its stationary occupation, Iaioflautas brought their mobile occupation to the Spanish public in a blatant, unavoidable fashion.

This example further evidences the artful form of mimesis that Isocrates endeavored to teach his students, through highlighting that the practice of mimesis is not one of rote replication, but rather an inventive form of replication and creative modification. Iaioflautas' creative replication of occupation in a location that maintains a connection to the very issue that provoked

¹⁸⁷ "Los Yayoflautas 'toman' un bus de la línea 47 en Barcelona," Vimeo video, 3:30, posted by "Mònica Tudela," December 24, 2012, <http://vimeo.com/56258493>.

¹⁸⁸ "Los 'yayoflautas' toman un autobús en Barcelona," *El Diario Montañés*, last modified February 2, 2012, <http://www.eldiariomontanes.es/rc/20120201/mas-actualidad/nacional/yayoflautas-toman-autobus-barcelona-201202011619.html>.

their protest is a characteristic that may also be observed in Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda's form of occupation.



Figure 11. The Iaioflautas occupying bus number forty-seven.¹⁸⁹

3.3.5 Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda (PACD)

The *Semana de Acción Global contra la Deuda y las Instituciones Financieras Internacionales* (Week of Global Action Against Debt and the International Financial Institutions) was held from October 8 to October 15, 2013. During this week, Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda (PACD), a group that explicitly cites 15-M as a source of inspiration for its ultimate formation as

¹⁸⁹ Iaioflautas, “Operació #rebellionbus.”

a platform, organized a series of activities and protests in its various nodes across Spain.¹⁹⁰ Among the organized events, the Barcelona node of PACD engaged in a particularly creative performance of occupation on October 11, 2013. This protest responded to an unanswered petition the Barcelona node of PACD had sent to the Government of Catalonia, in which the group demanded public access to information related to debt, cutbacks, and the Catalanian Government's policies in response to the crisis.¹⁹¹ As a result of the Government of Catalonia's unresponsiveness, the group performed a mobile occupation in front of the Delegación Territorial de Cataluña (Territorial Delegation of Catalonia), where its members posted posters onto the building with the same questions they posed to the Government of Catalonia fifteen days prior, in their written petition. During their brief occupation, a protestor recited a text discussing their reasons for protesting and stated "*Estem aquí per reclamar transparència a la Generalitat de Catalunya*" (We are here to demand transparency from the Government of Catalonia).¹⁹² After leaving the Delegación Territorial de Cataluña, PACD protestors went on to occupy the front of the Palau de la Música Catalana (Palace of Catalanian Music) and the Catalanian bank, Catalunya Caixa. It bears mentioning that this mobile occupation was performed with members of PACD wearing monkey masks, which they likely donned to capture the attention of the regional government (see Figure 12).¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda, "¿Quiénes somos?"

¹⁹¹ "[Nota de Premsa] Activistes denuncien amb una acció de carrer la manca de compromís real de la Generalitat de Catalunya amb la transparència," Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda, last modified October 12, 2013, <http://auditoriaciudadana.net/2013/10/12/nota-de-premsa-activistes-denuncien-amb-una-accio-de-carrer-la-manca-de-compromis-real-de-la-generalitat-de-catalunya-amb-la-transparencia/>.

¹⁹² Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda, "Activistes denuncien amb."

¹⁹³ Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda, "Activistes denuncien amb."



Figure 12. Members of PACD in front of the Delegación Territorial de Cataluña.¹⁹⁴

The performance of occupation by this node of PACD, which involved three separate locations, appears to replicate the mobile character of the previously mentioned Iaioflautas bus occupation. PACD's occupation differs from 15-M with regard to how its protestors interact with the subject being protested, as instead of *indirectly* interacting with the entity that inspires acts of protest (e.g., through occupying plazas), like 15-M, PACD *directly* interacts with the entities that inspire its protests (e.g., through occupying the space in front of a governmental building). Further, PACD's use of costuming also presents a new dimension to the performance of

¹⁹⁴ Auditoría Ciudadana Deuda, *IMG 2451*, 2013, photograph, Available from: Flickr, accessed October 14, 2014, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/77412954@N03/11055073313/in/set-72157636457662524>.

occupation: anonymity. Unlike the Marea Blanca and Iaioflautas who do not cover their faces when performing occupation, the Barcelona node of PACD's use of monkey masks may be a mimetic replication of the Guy Fawkes masks worn by members of Anonymous, a protest group that pre-dates 15-M and also advocates for greater transparency. Breaking the pattern of sensorially-rich performances of occupation discussed thus far, the next protest group, Ahora, Tú Decides (ATD), borrows a different element from 15-M's memplex.

3.3.6 Ahora, Tú Decides (ATD)

Due to the nature of Ahora, Tú Decides, as an internet-based protest group, occupation in the general sense of the term (i.e., physical occupation) does not form part of its protest behavior. Instead, Ahora, Tú Decides replicates a behavior that occurred during 15-M's performance of occupation: direct democracy. Ahora, Tú Decides's manifesto states that it is time to put an end to the false conception of democracy that excludes citizens from a representative government in Spain and consequently proposes an internet-based referendum to allow citizens to *truly* participate in the political process.¹⁹⁵ To date, ATD has conducted two referendums, wherein citizens have voted on what type of political, economic, and social model they desire to have in Spain; each referendum upholds the ideals of consensus-based decisions, deliberation, and collective intelligence throughout the democratic process. Therefore, these internet-based acts of direct democracy provide citizens with a space to express political agency, much like in 15-M's occupied plazas, which provided citizens from diverse intersectionalities the opportunity to exert their political agency.

¹⁹⁵ AhoraTuDecides, "Manifiesto."

Despite ATD's nonuse of occupation as a protest behavior, mimetic replication can be observed in the group's communication ideals, as well as in its creation of a virtual space to engage in acts of collective deliberation and the expression of agency, similar to 15-M's virtual *asambleas*. It should be noted that members from this group reference on its website the vital role 15-M played in their formation as a group, being that the founding members met one another at the mobilizations and *asambleas* of 15-M.¹⁹⁶ In this case, those of ATD were able to materialize their aspirations, sparked by 15-M, into action through creating a virtual space where the voices of the "*pueblo*" (the people) could be heard, much like 15-M's use of its *acampadas*.¹⁹⁷

3.3.7 The Memetic Replication of 15-M's Occupation

The results from this comparison suggest that memetic replication has occurred, with respect to 15-M's meme of occupation, among the four examined protest groups. As a result, the following conclusions may be drawn with respect to how the meme of occupation has been replicated. First, although only three of the protest groups performed a physical occupation, all four groups replicated one of 15-M's ideological memes: the rejection of the public and private divide. This is evidenced by the manner in which this meme is reflected in the argumentation and communication practices (e.g., presenting private topics in the public sphere and encouraging non-exclusionary participation) of all four groups. This commonality appears to indicate that 15-M's ideological meme (i.e., rejection of the public and private divide) underwent less modification during its transmission than the behavioral meme of occupation.

¹⁹⁶ AhoraTuDecides, "FAQs."

¹⁹⁷ AhoraTuDecides, "FAQs."

Second, in contrast to the aforementioned ideological meme, the meme of occupation morphed through the addition of costuming and mobility, which were observed in the protest practices of the Marea Blanca, Iaioflautas, and PACD. In light of the biological base upon which memetic theory is built, one may understand these differences as mutations or variations of the original 15-M meme of occupation. These changes are “made” by the meme in an effort to increase its transmission rate and avoid extinction: the goal of a meme. In more basic terms, these changes may be understood as attempts by the protestors to garner greater attention from the media and the public. Unlike 15-M, the Marea Blanca, Iaioflautas, and PACD do not have well-publicized acampadas across Spain and, as a result, face different challenges (e.g., media visibility and public attention). Therefore, the introduction of mobility in the groups’ form of occupation is a way to confront their challenges of public visibility.

Similarly, the Marea Blanca, the Iaioflautas, and PACD’s use of costuming also aids in their efforts to increase attention to their causes. However, in the case of each group, it may be argued that costuming serves multiple functions. In the case of the Marea Blanca, the group’s costumes call attention to their actions and provide protestors greater ethos. In contrast, it may be argued that PACD use their costumes to attract greater attention and also as a form of protection (i.e., anonymization). Finally, in the case of Iaioflautas, their brightly-colored safety vests appear to primarily aid in visually garnering attention toward their protest actions.

Third, it appears that none of the of the three aforementioned protest groups enacted *praeteritio* in their replication of occupation, which may be attributable to the differing organizational stages of 15-M and the follow-on protest groups. While 15-M primarily employed occupation as a practice to make a new political space to organize and plan the types of changes it sought in Spain, and secondarily as a form of protest, the follow-on groups already had their

protest causes established and, therefore, more often employed occupation for its protest effect. The final section of this chapter will summarize the main findings relating to the spatial politics of 15-M and the follow-on groups.

3.4 CONCLUSION

As a protest group born in the twenty-first century, yet influenced by ancient Greek tradition, 15-M combined modern-day technology with a nuanced understanding of ancient Greek argumentation practices in its acampadas. In its physical and virtual asambleas, 15-M employed deliberative practices from antiquity, transforming plazas and Facebook pages into contemporary agoras. These “new” agoras provided a space wherein asambleas could become interactive modes of consciousness raising, whereby citizens could become informed on a multitude of topics, by the various comisiones and grupos de trabajo (see Figures 2 and 3).

In addition, a number of the technologies 15-M used in its 2011 acampadas served to “bridge” physical and virtual landscapes, resulting in the creation of a liminal space for communication and collective deliberation among protestors. This liminal space, facilitated by live streaming technologies, served to democratize accessibility to 15-M’s agoras, through allowing the attendance and active participation of protestors, regardless of their geographic location.

Furthermore, the occupation of plazas and the creation of acampadas provided an environment of support and equality that created the potentiality needed to create (transportable) spaces of appearance. In the plazas it occupied, 15-M gave bodies of diverse intersectionalities the appropriate support, encouragement, and means to engage in a new form of participatory

politics that challenged conventional divides of the public and private spheres and empowered historically marginalized bodies. Hence, 15-M's protest practices underscore the importance of thinking of bodies in new dimensions, as urged by Butler, and gesture toward the need to employ Arendtian concepts in a critical manner that takes into account the realities that affect the human condition.

To one extent, 15-M's occupation of plazas may be understood as a crucial foundational protest act in its development, being that its occupation and construction of acampadas reclaimed public space across Spain (and internationally) for a new-age polis. The acampadas played both a political, educational, and argumentative role, as they served as collective corporeal acts of protest against State-controlled public space, performed a school-like function through peer-learning, and helped to enact the rhetorical figure of *praeteritio*. Most importantly, however, the acampadas aided in channeling the indignation of the Spanish people toward a productive end, evidenced by the establishment of follow-on groups (e.g., The Marea Blanca, Iaioflautas, PACD, and ATD), subsequent to the disbandment of 15-M's acampadas.

15-M's occupation and creation of acampadas fueled the growth of the 15-M memplex, allowing it to further develop and eventually be transmitted to those with whom it came in contact online or in offline venues. Consequently, those who received memes from the 15-M memplex were provided with the specialized knowledge (e.g., protest tactics, social media use, slogan ideas, communication styles) necessary to continue 15-M's quest for social, political, and economic change in Spain.

As was noted in the comparative analysis of the transmission of 15-M's occupation meme, the variation observed in this meme's replication may be viewed as instantiations of mutation (e.g., mobility and costuming), in an effort to adapt to new contexts. The creative

differences that ensued in this meme's replication illustrate an important element of mimesis, stressed by Isocrates: mimetic replication should improve upon the past. The following chapter will examine an overarching theme that pervaded much of 15-M's discursive, visual, and multimodal argumentation from the acampadas: economics.

4.0 MALESTAR ECONÓMICO

[El] 15-M, en mi opinión, . . . responde al malestar profundo de la sociedad respecto a las políticas que ha llevado adelante este gobierno y los gobiernos anteriores . . . en el dejarnos aislados de las decisiones fundamentales que afectan nuestras vidas (15-M, in my opinion, . . . responds to the profound malaise of [Spanish] society with respect to the policies that this administration and previous administrations have carried out . . . in leaving us removed from the fundamental decisions that affect our lives).¹

The aforementioned quote, taken from a 15-M protestor, foregrounds a key affective-temporal characteristic of the Spanish context since 2011, termed “[un] *tiempo de malestares*” (a time of malaise); in this case, the protestor describes a political malaise.² This time of malaise was largely created by various difficulties in Spain’s social (e.g., increasingly less accessible housing and healthcare), political (e.g., a perceived “lack” of political representation), and economic spheres (e.g., high unemployment and low wages).³ Although an exhaustive review and discussion of all of the “*malestares*” that *convivían* (co-existed) in 15-M’s *acampadas* is beyond the scope of the present study, this chapter will develop a general understanding of the *tiempo de malestares* that will significantly aid in understanding 15-M’s inception, the evolution of the

¹ John Mario Muñoz Lopera, “Los Indignados Del 15-M: Nuevas Formas de Resistencia Ciudadana,” *Boletín de Antropología: Universidad de Antioquia* 43 (2011): 245, <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=55723950010>.

² Luis Nogués Sáez and Pedro Cabrera Cabrera, “Editorial,” *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* 26, no. 2 (2013): 250, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CUTS/article/view/43782/41404>.

³ Since the onset of the financial crisis in Spain, which began between 2007 and 2008, the Spanish government has carried out extensive austerity measures and cutbacks (i.e., *recortes*) that have most notably affected publicly-funded sectors, such as education, research, and healthcare. Manuel García Caracuel, *La Alteración Sobrevvenida de Las Circunstancias Contractuales* (Madrid: Editorial Dykinson, 2014), 320; Carlos Berzosa, “Un camino hacia el desastre,” *El Siglo de Europa*, April 16-22, 2012, 65.

arguments and claims it generated from its acampadas, and the continued relevance of 15-M to Spain's current social reality.

This analysis proposes to isolate one particular *malestar* that pervaded 15-M's discourse: the *malestar económico* (economic malaise). The salient role economics played in 15-M's quest for social, political, and economic change in Spain is noted by global economics scholar Juan Pablo Mateo Tomé, who contends: "*las reivindicaciones de carácter económico . . . [son para el 15-M] . . . uno de los ámbitos más relevantes en el marco de la lucha por una democratización de la sociedad*" (claims of economic nature . . . [are for 15-M] . . . one of the most relevant areas in the context of the fight for a democratization of society).⁴ Multiple economic-related variables were responsible for generating a deep-seated *malestar* expressed by protestors in the 15-M acampadas, such as:

1. **Housing:** A sustained high cost of housing produced significant problems in terms of housing accessibility for middle-to-low-income Spanish citizens.⁵ Housing accessibility was an especially prominent problem among Spain's youth, leading the nation to be designated as a European Union member state with one of the highest ages of youth emancipation: by late 2011, close to 70% of 18 to 29 year-olds lived in their parents' home.⁶
2. **Labor Market:** High unemployment (particularly among Spain's youth), job insecurity, fraudulent employment contracts, the existence of a growing submerged (i.e., undeclared) economy, and low salaries (i.e., the median wage of Spanish youth is 600 euros per month), when compared to other European Union

⁴ Juan Pablo Mateo Tomé, "El Sol Y La Economía," in *La Rebelión de Los Indignados: Movimiento 15 M: Democracia Real, ¡Ya!*, ed. Carlos Taibo et al., Rompeolas (Madrid: Editorial Popular, 2011), 21.

⁵ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 33–34; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 53–54.

⁶ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 33–34; Perugorria and Tejerina, "Politics of the Encounter," 427.

nations, created much indignation among Spaniards.⁷ As a result of these labor market conditions, many Spaniards have left their country to find employment abroad.

3. **Governmental Economic Policies and Actions:** The Spanish government's financial decisions have created much discontent among its citizens, largely owing to the State's resolution to allocate vast sums of Spanish public funds to rescuing Spanish financial entities (i.e., Spanish private failing banks).⁸ A second government-backed initiative that met equal levels of indignation was the management of Spain's debt, which involved the implementation of cuts in social services, education, and healthcare.⁹ Similarly problematic were the government's efforts to reduce Spain's public deficit, which it proposed to handle by implementing a packet of measures that presented a series of adjustment policies to the labor sector (e.g., raising the age of retirement from 65 to 67, salary reducing to civil servants, and freezing pension increases).¹⁰
4. **Economic and Political Corruption:** Both political and economic spheres were plagued by cases of corruption (e.g., "el caso Malaya (the Malaya Case), el caso Gürtel (the Gürtel case), el caso Pretoria (the Pretoria Case), and el caso del

⁷ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 34–35; Jordi Nofre, "Del Pacto Social a La Indignación: Geografía(s) de La #Spanishrevolution," in *#GeneraciónIndignada: Topías Y Utopías Del 15M*, ed. Carles Feixa and Jordi Nofre, Ensayo Milenio (Lleida: Milenio, 2013), 29; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 52; Jaime Pastor Verdú, "El Movimiento 15-M: Un Nuevo Actor Sociopolítico Frente a La 'Dictadura de Los Mercados,'" *Sociedad Y Utopía: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* 38 (2011): 111, <http://www.sociedaduytopia.es/images/revistas/38/dictaduramercados.pdf>; Emmy Eklundh, "Who Is Speaking? The Indignados as Political Subjects," *Global Discourse: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Current Affairs and Applied Contemporary Thought* 4, no. 2–3 (2014): 224–225, doi:10.1080/23269995.2014.910058; Olga Abasolo, Jeremy Gilbert, and Hilary Wainwright, "The Indignados and Us," *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture* 57 (2014): 37–38, doi:10.3898/136266214813474499; Perugorria and Tejerina, "Politics of the Encounter," 427.

⁸ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 35–36; Nofre, "Del Pacto Social a La Indignación," 29.

⁹ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 36–37; Pastor Verdú, "Un Nuevo Actor Sociopolítico,"

111.

¹⁰ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 36–37.

Palau de la Música (the Palau de la Música Case)”, leading to a further deterioration of people’s confidence in Spanish political and banking authorities.¹¹

Closely related to the people’s discontent with corruption were the multiple incidences of financial fraud in the form of tax havens used by the rich, companies, and politicians, resulting in millions of un-taxed profits.¹²

The confluence of the aforementioned factors, in addition to many others, produced a profound *malestar económico* (economic malaise) among Spaniards inside and outside of the 15-M acampadas. In the consensus-based proposals for social, economic, and political change that were created by Madrid’s Acampada Sol and Barcelona’s Acampada, the impact of the *malestar económico* on 15-M’s discourses and claims is further illustrated. On May 20, 2011, Acampada Sol released a list of sixteen proposals for change, of which approximately 63 percent demonstrated an either implicit or explicit economic dimension.¹³ For instance, proposal number sixteen calls for “[t]otal transparencia de las cuentas y de la financiación de los partidos políticos como medida de contención de la corrupción política” ([t]otal transparency of the accounts and funding of political parities as a measure to contain political corruption).¹⁴ Much like Acampada Sol’s proposals, Barcelona’s Acampada created a similar list of proposals, but with greater detail, entitled “*medidas para una vida digna*” (measures for a dignified life) on June 20, 2011.¹⁵

¹¹ Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 37; Nofre, “Del Pacto Social a La Indignación,” 29.

¹² Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 55.

¹³ García-Rosales and Penella Heller, *Palabras Para Indignados*, 135–137; Josep Maria Antentas et al., eds., “Los Manifiestos Y Las Adhesiones,” in *Las Voces Del 15-M*, Panfletos Del Lince (Barcelona: Los Libros del Lince, 2011), 82–84; Roitman Rosenmann, *Los Indignados*, 41–43; Fernando Cabal, ed., *¡Indignados! 15-M* (Madrid: Mandala Ediciones, 2011), 10–16; “Propuestas aprobadas en la Asamblea de hoy día 20 de mayo de 2011 en Acampada Sol,” Madrid Toma la Plaza, published May 20, 2011, <http://madrid.tomalaplaza.net/2011/05/20/propuestas-20-mayo/>.

¹⁴ Cabal, *¡Indignados! 15-M*, 12.

¹⁵ “Principis per a l’acció,” AcampadaBCN, accessed February 15, 2015, <https://acampadabcn.wordpress.com/principis-per-laccio/>.

This eight-page document begins with a brief prologue that discusses some of the challenges that led to collective “*indignación*” (indignation) and proposals for change:

Un grito de rabia e indignación nos une ante la precarización y el deterioro de las condiciones de vida en todos los ámbitos, causadas por el capitalismo . . . Nuestra indignación surge no sólo ante la no-voluntad de la clase política de ejercer su función de servicio público para el pueblo, sino ante su creciente sumisión al poder de la banca y el capital especulativo, favoreciendo a los monopolios y promoviendo privatizaciones de servicios públicos. La situación de crisis económica acentúa los niveles de exclusión y paro por la reforma laboral, los recortes y el empeoramiento de las pensiones . . . Esta situación límite que impide nuestra subsistencia nos obliga a exigir y conquistar las siguientes medidas (A cry of rage and indignation unites us in the face of the loss of job security and the deterioration of living conditions in all spheres, caused by capitalism . . . Our indignation comes not only from the lack of will by the political class to exert its public service function for the people, but [also] in the face of its growing submission to the power of the banking sector and speculative capital, favoring monopolies and promoting the privatization of public services. The situation of the economic crisis accentuates the levels of exclusion and unemployment due to the labor reform, cuts, and worsening of the pensions . . . This extreme situation that impedes our subsistence obligates us to demand and obtain the following measures).¹⁶

The Barcelona Acampada measures (i.e., proposals) are grouped into eight major categories with fourteen sub-categories: 1) “*Laboral*” (Occupational), 2) “*Vivienda*” (Housing),

¹⁶ AcampadaBCN, “Principis per a l’acció.”

3) “*Sistema bancario y financiero*” (Banking and Financial System), 4) “*Fiscalidad*” (Taxation System), 5) “*Servicios públicos*” (Public Services), 6) “*Medioambiente*” (Environment), 7) “*Participación comunitaria en el funcionamiento de las instituciones públicas*” (Community Participation in the Functioning of Public Institutions), 8) “*Eliminación de privilegios de políticos, sindicalistas y representantes religiosos*” (Elimination of Privileges of Politicians, Labor Unionists and Religious Representatives).¹⁷ With the exception of the seventh category of proposals, the remaining categories all contained a portion of proposals that had an economic character. Thus, one may appreciate that a *malestar económico* pervaded much of 15-M’s collectively-produced discourse that emerged from the acampadas.

Consequently, the discourse, arguments, and proposals for change that emerged from national and international 15-M acampadas carried markers of a *malestar económico* in terms of their aesthetics, metaphors, performances, and/or explicit logoi, such as: “[A]hora la gente ha venido aquí [, a la acampada,] partiendo de su malestar personal por efecto de la crisis” ([N]ow people have come here [, to the acampada,] based on their personal malaise as a result of the crisis).¹⁸ This quote, taken from two protestors in 15-M’s Barcelona Acampada, underlines how the economic crisis was a salient motivation of 15-M’s protest and also highlights an affective function of the acampadas as a space for the collective expression of *malestares* (malaises).¹⁹ Ontologically, 15-M protestors and scholars alike recognize the economic crisis, both with respect to its causes and its effects, to be a leading factor in the foundation of 15-M itself.²⁰

¹⁷ AcampadaBCN, “Principis per a l’acció”; Rodolfo Ruiz Ligeró, “Reflexiones Sobre El M15M (Actualidad Y Futuro),” *El Viejo Topo* 284 (2011): 10–19.

¹⁸ Josep Maria Antentas et al., eds., “¿Adónde Hemos Llegado?,” in *Las Voces Del 15-M*, Panfletos Del Lince (Barcelona: Los Libros del Lince, 2011), 57.

¹⁹ Antentas et al., “¿Adónde Hemos Llegado?,” 57.

²⁰ Manfield, “En-Clave de Sol,” 222; Mateo Tomé, “El Sol Y La Economía,” 21; Muñoz Lopera, “Nuevas Formas de Resistencia,” 245; Antentas et al., “¿Adónde Hemos Llegado?,” 57; Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 33–38; Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 50–64; Pastor Verdú, “Un Nuevo Actor Sociopolítico,” 110–111; Eklundh, “Who Is Speaking?,” 224.

The following statement, recorded at a session of the 15-M Comisión de Economía (Economics Commission) from the Málaga Acampada, captures the indignation and general *malestar económico* that provoked 15-M's protests and that courses through the veins of its discourse, proposals, and actions:

¡Es mi economía, estúpido! Porque no queremos trabajos precarios, jornadas eternas y una jubilación imposible. Porque queremos una vivienda digna en la que vivamos nosotros y no con la que se enriquezcan los bancos. Porque nos quitan todo lo que habíamos logrado tras años de esfuerzos y se llevan su botín a paraísos fiscales. Porque no pagan impuestos y encima piden rescates públicos. Nos piden austeridad desde un Mercedes clase A. Esta crisis, políticos y banqueros, no la pagamos. (It's my economy, fool! Because we don't want precarious jobs, eternal workdays and an impossible retirement. Because we want a dignified home in which we can live and not one with which the banks can profit. Because they take away from us everything we had achieved after years of effort and take their loot to tax havens. Because they don't pay taxes and on top of that ask for public bailouts. They ask us for austerity from a Mercedes A-class. This crisis, politicians and bankers, we are not paying for it).²¹

In response to this situation, Spain's increasingly indignant citizens, including 15-M and the follow-on groups, have organized various forms of collective protest (e.g., street protests, *ocupaciones*, and acts of virtual resistance) and widely circulated written and oral discourse (e.g., slogans, chants, and manifestos) that have been largely critical of the Spanish government. Notably, 15-M and the follow-on groups have also used visual images to express strong opposition to government austerity policies. Often complex and historically-charged, visual

²¹ Velasco, *No Nos Representan*, 50.

media give protestors the unique ability to effectively disseminate messages that, in written form, would likely face scandal or censorship.²²

Appreciating the ubiquity of visual protest media in recent political activism in Spain, as well as the rich socio-cultural meaning encoded in such images, this chapter will examine a selection of visual protest memes produced by 15-M and the follow-on groups. The corpus of this analysis will be comprised of visual artifacts that reflect and articulate *malestar económico*, a meme emerging from the 15-M memeplex. These visual texts will be explored in depth using an interpretive framework adapted from semiotic theory. This chapter opens with an extended excursus that explores the rationale for drawing from semiotics to supplement the analytical approach featured in previous chapters. The end of this discussion will reflect on how the “semiotic-textual” framework that I develop contributes to the memetic focus of this thesis and is especially appropriate for examining visual media created by 15-M and the follow-groups. Next, a selection of visual protest memes will be presented and analyzed according to the study’s analytic framework, highlighting particularly their compositional design and their (re)articulation of power dynamics. The findings garnered from the analysis of the protest groups’ images will be compared and significant similarities, differences, and themes will be identified, discussed, and interpreted. Finally, this chapter will provide a summary of its primary findings and conclude with a brief commentary relating to the function of visual protest memes in comparison to their verbal and spatial counterparts analyzed in the previous chapters.

²² Carey Jewitt and Rumiko Oyama, “Visual Meaning: A Social Semiotic Approach,” in *The Handbook of Visual Analysis*, ed. Theo van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt (London: SAGE Publications, 2001), 138, 143, 154–155, doi:10.4135/9780857020062.

4.1 SEMIOTICS AND A “SEMIOTIC-TEXTUAL” APPROACH TO ANALYZING VISUAL TEXTS

The origins of the study of *semiotics* can be traced to Hippocrates (460-377 BCE), known as “the founder of Western Medical Science,” who developed *semeiotics* as a branch of medicine to study *symptoms*, “a *symptom* being, in effect, a *sēmeion* ‘mark, sign’ that stands for something other than itself.”²³ According to Hippocrates, the chief job of a physician was to “unravel what a *symptom* stands for,” such as a “rash” standing for a “skin allergy” and a “sore throat” standing for a “cold.”²⁴ In the Greek context, additional theories of *semeiotics* were subsequently developed by Aristotle (384-322 BCE) and Galen of Pergamum (139-199 CE).²⁵ Later, in 1690, John Locke’s work, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, “introduced the formal study of signs into philosophy” and, according to germinal Hungarian semiotician Thomas Sebeok, challenged philosophers to “understand the interconnection between representation and knowledge.”²⁶ However, Locke’s philosophical challenge remained “virtually unnoticed” until the nineteenth century, when American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914) and Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913) began to study “the *structures* that undergird both the production and interpretation of signs.”²⁷

Charles Sanders Peirce and Ferdinand de Saussure are considered the “co-founders” of modern-day semiotics, as they “independently sketched [the] tentative definitions and research

²³ Thomas A. Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics*, ed. Marcel Danesi et al., Toronto Studies in Semiotics and Communication (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 4.

²⁴ Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction*, 4.

²⁵ Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction*, 4.

²⁶ Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction*, 4–5.

²⁷ Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction*, 5.

blueprints” of what would become this field.²⁸ In his work, Peirce, who was educated as a chemist, defined “semeiotic” or “semiotic” as “the ‘formal doctrine of signs,’” “closely related” to logic.²⁹ Peirce’s contributions to the field of semiotics include: “the classification of signs into three categories: *index*, *icon* and *symbol*” and “*semiosis*” (i.e., “the process of meaning-making”).³⁰ In contrast, Saussure’s work concerned “the study of natural language and by extension of all cultural systems.”³¹ Saussure described “*sémiologie*” (semiology) as, “[the] science which studies the role of signs as part of social life.”³² Saussure’s theoretical offerings to the discipline include: making a distinction between *langue* (language) (i.e., “the abstract rules and conventions of language (or any code) that pre-exist any individual’s use of it”) and *parole* (speaking) (i.e., “the manipulation of the language system via individual utterances in everyday situations”) and his definition of a “sign” as a “dyadic form made up of [a] ‘signifier’... [i.e., ‘something physical– sounds, letters, gestures’] and [a] ‘signified’... [i.e., ‘the image or concept to which the signifier refers’].”³³

²⁸ Karin Boklund-Lagopoulou and Alexandros Phaidon Lagopoulos, “Semiotics Today: An Introduction,” *Gramma/Γράμμα: Journal of Theory and Criticism* 20 (2012): 7, <http://www.enl.auth.gr/gramma/gramma12/A.1.pdf>; Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, Basics (Routledge (Firm)) (London: Routledge, 2007), 3; Paul Bouissac, “Saussure’s Legacy in Semiotics,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Saussure*, ed. Carol Sanders (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 240.

²⁹ Boklund-Lagopoulou and Lagopoulos, “Semiotics Today: An Introduction,” 7; Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 3.

³⁰ Bouissac, “Saussure’s Legacy in Semiotics,” 250; Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 259.

³¹ Boklund-Lagopoulou and Lagopoulos, “Semiotics Today: An Introduction,” 7.

³² Boklund-Lagopoulou and Lagopoulos, “Semiotics Today: An Introduction,” 7; Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 3.

³³ David Glen Mick, “Consumer Research and Semiotics: Exploring the Morphology of Signs, Symbols, and Significance,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 13, no. 2 (1986): 197–198, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2489226>; David Sless, “Reading Semiotics,” *Information Design Journal* 4, no. 3 (1984): 181, doi:10.1075/idj.4.3.01sle; Sunil Manghani, *Image Studies: Theory and Practice* (London: Routledge, 2013), 12–13; Sebeok, *Signs: An Introduction*, 5–6; Ferdinand de Saussure, *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (ed. de Mauro), ed. Charles Bailly et al., trans. Louis-Jean Calvet, Grande Bibliothèque Payot (Paris: Payot, 1995), 367; Paul Ricœur, “Le Dernier Wittgenstein et Le Dernier Husserl Sur Le Langage,” *Études Ricœuriennes/ Ricœur Studies* 5, no. 1 (2014): 6, doi:10.5195/errs.2014.241.

In 1969, the International Association for Semiotic Studies selected the term “semiotics” “to refer to the combined field of the Saussurean and Peircean traditions.”³⁴ At present, the field of semiotics, in the most basic terms, consists of “the study of signs.”³⁵ More precisely, semiotics involves “the study *not only* of what we refer to as ‘signs’ in everyday speech, but of *anything* which ‘stands for’ something else” (emphasis added).³⁶ In semiotics, signs can “take the form of words, images, sounds, gestures and objects.”³⁷ Present-day semioticians frequently aim to “make explicit the implicit knowledge which enables signs to have meaning” and predominantly examine “*how* meanings are made in texts and cultural practices” and “*how* reality is represented” (emphasis added).³⁸

Multiple scholars have discussed the heuristic utility of semiotic analysis to generate important compositional, socio-cultural, and ideological insights. According to multimedia design scholar Sara McNeil, the field of semiotics “offers a framework for understanding visual representations of concepts and provides a way to understand and compare different representations.”³⁹ In addition, visual culture scholar Gillian Rose notes that semiotics supplies “a very full box of analytical tools for taking an image apart and tracing how it works.”⁴⁰ Similarly, Leiss and colleagues argue that the true strengths of semiotics are “its capacity to

³⁴ Mick, “Consumer Research and Semiotics,” 197; Douglas Raber and John M. Budd, “Information as Sign: Semiotics and Information Science,” *Journal of Documentation* 59, no. 5 (2003): 507, 509, doi:10.1108/00220410310499564; Boklund-Lagopoulou and Lagopoulos, “Semiotics Today: An Introduction,” 7; Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 3–4.

³⁵ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 2.

³⁶ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 2.

³⁷ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 2.

³⁸ Jonathan Culler, “In Pursuit of Signs,” *Dædalus* 106, no. 4 (1977): 108, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20024510>; Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 2, 59; see also, John R. Lyne, “Rhetoric and Semiotic in C. S. Peirce,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 1980, doi:10.1080/00335638009383512.

³⁹ Sara McNeil, “Visualizing Mental Models: Understanding Cognitive Change to Support Teaching and Learning of Multimedia Design and Development,” *Educational Technology Research and Development* 63, no. 1 (2015): 80, doi:10.1007/s11423-014-9354-5; “Sara McNeil: Teaching,” University of Houston, accessed March 9, 2015, <http://faculty.coe.uh.edu/smcneil/teaching.html>.

⁴⁰ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, 2012), 105; “Gillian Rose,” SAGE, accessed March 10, 2015, <http://www.uk.sagepub.com/authorDetails.nav?contribId=519351>.

dissect and examine closely a cultural code and its sensitivity to the nuances and oblique references in cultural systems.”⁴¹ Moreover, discourse studies scholar Peter Teo suggests that semiotic analysis has the “potential to offer a perspective into the construction of ideology,” citing the work of Russian linguist Valentin Vološinov, who argues:

*Without signs, there is no ideology . . . A sign does not simply exist as a part of reality – it reflects and refracts another reality . . . The domain of ideology coincides with the domain of signs. They equate with one another. Wherever a sign is present, ideology is present, too. Everything ideological possesses semiotic value.*⁴²

Teo explains that, according to Vološinov, society is continuously involved in a “process of struggle and contestations, constantly negotiating and re-negotiating . . . relations with agencies of power, which in turn assert, affirm and reaffirm their ideological positions through linguistic and other semiotic channels.”⁴³ From a Vološinovian perspective, by applying a semiotic approach to a given sign, one may “potentially uncover and unravel” “dynamic processes of struggle, negotiation and assertion of power and their means of enactment and reproduction.”⁴⁴ Signs, for Vološinov, are understood as an “arena of class struggle,” wherein distinct social classes struggle over *the* meaning of a sign, their divergent perspectives stemming from their distinct “social values” and “conflicting economic and social interests.”⁴⁵ Apropos of

⁴¹ Leanne White, “From the World Coffee Conference to the Local Café: Coffee Events Large and Small,” in *Coffee Culture, Destinations and Tourism*, ed. Lee Joliffe, Tourism and Cultural Change (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2010), 54.

⁴² Peter Teo, “Ideological Dissonances in Singapore’s National Campaign Posters: A Semiotic Deconstruction,” *Visual Communication* 3, no. 2 (2004): 192, doi:10.1177/147035704043040; Valentin Nikolaevič Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, trans. Ladislav Matějka and I.R. Titunik, Studies in Language (New York: Seminar Press, 1973), 9–10.

⁴³ Teo, “Ideological Dissonances,” 192.

⁴⁴ Teo, “Ideological Dissonances,” 192.

⁴⁵ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23; Robin Wackerbarth, “Multiaccentuality,” in *Key Concepts in Cultural Theory*, ed. Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick, Key Concepts Series (London: Routledge, 1999), 164.

Vološinov's observations related to the aforementioned "class struggle," which is thoroughly explored in his book *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, the theoretical term "multiaccentuality" emerges.⁴⁶ This concept makes reference to a given sign's "capacity" to possess differing multiple meanings "attached to it" by distinct social classes.⁴⁷ For Vološinov, the ability to fix a particular meaning upon a given sign in society is indicative of power.⁴⁸ In short, semiotics provides useful tools for examining visual protest media, focusing attention on how these visual texts operate on a compositional level and how they can challenge and/or re-articulate existing power dynamics in society.

Although the field of semiotics allows for a wide range of theoretical and modal variation, as the very definition of semiotics today is "as broad as possible," within the discipline there remain understudied areas that merit further attention, such as the interrelation of visual and textual modalities in media. Visual studies scholar Ella Chmielewska notes that, within Anglo-American scholarship that addresses language and semiotics, "few probe the complexity of the simultaneous presence of text and image, both the discursive and representational dimensions that are fused [together]."⁴⁹ Semiotics scholar Radan Martinec and multimedia scholar Andrew Salway echo Chmielewska's critique of semiotic scholarship, asserting that although "images most often occur in combination with text . . . in the writing of semioticians and new media theorists, not much attention has been paid to analysing the semantic relations that allow . . . [images] to interact with the surrounding text."⁵⁰ On a similar note, rhetorician and

⁴⁶ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23.

⁴⁷ Wackerbarth, "Multiaccentuality," 164.

⁴⁸ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23–24.

⁴⁹ Frédéric Nef, "Semiotics, Semiology," in *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon: A Philosophical Lexicon*, ed. Barbara Cassin, trans. Steven Rendall et al., Translation/Transnation (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 948; Ella Chmielewska, "Framing [Con]text: Graffiti and Place," *Space and Culture* 10, no. 2 (2007): 151, doi:10.1177/1206331206298545.

⁵⁰ Radan Martinec and Andrew Salway, "A System for Image-Text Relations in New (and Old) Media," *Visual Communication* 4, no. 3 (2005): 338–339, doi:10.1177/1470357205055928. According to Martinec and

visual rhetoric scholar Lester Olson notes that within the discipline of visual rhetoric, “most . . . scholarship is concerned primarily with symbols other than words.”⁵¹ The aforementioned critiques are reflected in the limited number of peer-reviewed visual studies — particularly in the field of semiotics — that address the interaction of artifacts’ visual and textual dimensions.⁵²

In order to explore the various dimensions of 15-M and the follow-on groups’ visual protest memes, this chapter will utilize a framework that considers the visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of the selected media artifacts. As such, this approach will be referred to as a “semiotic-textual analysis,” to underscore the examination of this relatively unexplored

Salway, “[m]ost of the work that has been done on image–text relations has been based on practitioners’ brilliant intuitions (e.g. McCloud, 1993; Horn, 1998), or has borne a cultural studies orientation and thus not concerned itself with the details of how text and images work together (e.g. Mitchell, 1994), or has been aimed at writers, illustrators or librarians and lacks a theory of how images and text are structured and how they function (Marsh and White, 2003).”

⁵¹ Lester C. Olson, “Intellectual and Conceptual Resources for Visual Rhetoric: A Re-Examination of Scholarship Since 1950,” *Review of Communication* 7, no. 1 (2007): 3, doi:10.1080/15358590701211035. See also, Lester C. Olson, Cara A. Finnegan, and Diane S. Hope, “Visual Rhetoric in Communication: Continuing Questions and Contemporary Issues,” in *Visual Rhetoric: A Reader in Communication and American Culture*, ed. Lester C. Olson, Cara A. Finnegan, and Diane S. Hope (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2008), 2.

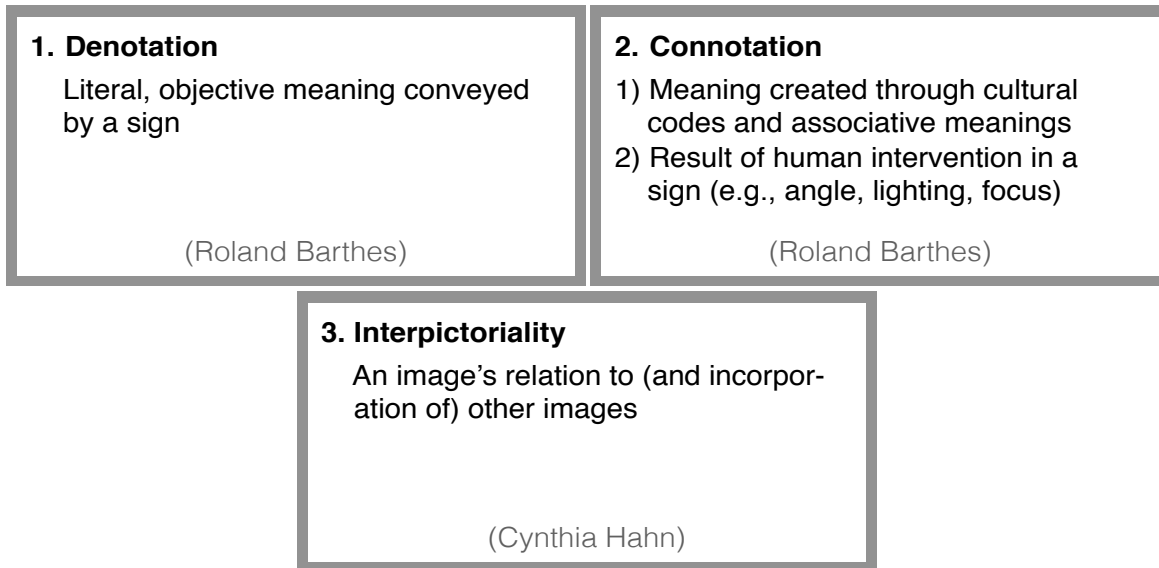
⁵² The following list endeavors to chronologically and geographically situate the limited number of international studies to date which address the complex visual and textual dimensions described by Chmielewska: “*L’analyse du message audiovisuel de communication: quelques problèmes de méthode et de pédagogie*” [“Analysis of the audiovisual message of communication: Some Methodological and Pedagogical Problems”] by Dominique Château (*France*, 1987); ““An intimate rendezvous with nature”? Mediating the tourist-nature experience at three tourist sites in Borneo” by Kevin Markwell (*Australia*, 2001); “Gendered Walls: Depictions of Masculinity and Femininity on Belfast’s Political Murals” by Sara Melendro (*United Kingdom*, 2003); “Constructing, Presenting and Interpreting Nature: A Case Study of a Nature-based Tour to Borneo” by Kevin Markwell (*Australia*, 2004); “Critical Discourse Analysis and the Semiotic Construction of Gender Identities” by Izabel Magalhães (*Brazil*, 2005); “The Palace of La Moneda: From the trauma of the Hawker Hunters to the therapy of the signs” by Pedro Santander and Enrique Aimone (*Chile*, 2006); “Internet Web Logs as Cultural Resistance: A Study of the SARS Arts Project” by James Gillett (*Canada*, 2007); “wants moar: Visual Media’s Use of Text in LOLcats and Silent Film” by Jed Brubaker (*United States*, 2008); “Referencias intertextuales de *Carne Trémula* (Almodóvar, 1997)” [“Intertextual References in *Carne Trémula* (*Live Flesh*, Almodóvar, 1997)”] by Pedro Poyato Sánchez (*Spain*, 2012); “*Les Casseurs de pub contre la société de consommation ! Stratégies de détournement pour convaincre*” [“The *Casseurs de pub* (Ad-bashers) and Their Disapproval of Consumer Society! Diversionary Tactics to Convince”] by Justine Simon (*France*, 2012); “Saya Happy: Re-reading the Promotion of Female Identity in Local and International Women’s Magazines – a semiotic study” by Umi Khattab (*Australia*, 2012); “*À l’écoute du ‘Cri de la Tourterelle’. La performativité du chant et du cinéma sur la migration au Niger*” [“Listening to the ‘Cry of the Turtle Dove.’ Performativity in Song and Migration Film in Niger”] by Marina Lafay and Carola Mick (*France*, 2014); “Intertextualidad en *La piel que habito*: pintura, escultura y dibujo” [“Intertextuality in *The Skin I Live In*: Painting, Sculpture and Drawing”] by Marina Parés Pulido (*France*, 2014); and “The linguistic landscape: mobile signs, code choice, symbolic meaning and territoriality in the discourse of protest” by Luanga A. Kasanga (*Bahrain*, 2014).

relationship within the field of semiotics.⁵³ The mosaic of theories employed in the present study's framework is designed to permit a full exploration of the visual and textual dimensions of 15-M and the follow-on groups' visual protest memes, as well as the interplay between these two modalities. The proposed framework of analysis will illustrate *how* 15-M and the follow-on groups construct their visual protest memes, through isolating and identifying particular characteristics of these protest images (e.g., color, graphic composition, design, use of implicit or explicit symbols, the text-to-image relationship). Moreover, this diverse framework will aid in understanding *how* the visual protest memes of 15-M and the follow-on groups visually (re)articulate power dynamics in the Spanish context. In addition, through the identification of the visual and textual resources utilized in the selected artifacts, it will be possible to unmask the memetic and argumentative processes used by these protest groups in their media. The individual concepts, or "tools of analysis," that compose this chapter's framework (see Figure 12) will be explicated further in the following sections.

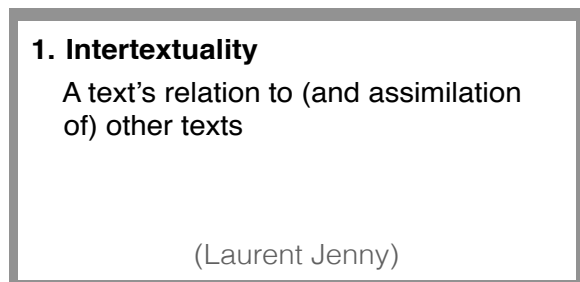
⁵³ Chmielewska, "Framing [Con]text," 151.

Semiotic-Textual Analysis

Visual Dimension: Tools of Analysis



Textual Dimension: Tool of Analysis



Visual-Textual Dimension: Tool of Analysis



Figure 12: Visual Representation of Theoretical Framework

4.1.1 Visual Dimension

4.1.1.1 Denotation and Connotation

From the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century, a number of linguists began to create theories to differentiate the various meanings carried by words in language, such as German linguist Karl Otto Erdmann, who, in 1900, distinguished between: “*Hauptbedeutung* (core

meaning), *Nebensinn* (additional meaning), and *Gefühlswert* (emotive value).”⁵⁴ Similar distinctions in meaning were later made by linguists, such as British linguist Geoffrey Leech in the 1970s, with the terms “*denotation*” (i.e., the “basic conceptual meaning” of a word) and “*connotation*” (i.e., the “associations we might have with what a word refers to”) (emphasis added).⁵⁵ In the 1970s, French semiotician Roland Barthes developed an approach to denotation and connotation involving meaning in photographic images, rather than language, like previous theories (e.g., Leech).⁵⁶ Barthes concluded that, like words, “[i]mages, too, have two layers of meaning.”⁵⁷

Barthes identifies the first layer of meaning in an image as *denotation*: “what, or who, is represented [in an image].”⁵⁸ According to Barthes, the denotative meaning may be described as the “literal image,” “a kind of Edenic state of the image; cleared utopianically of its connotations . . . radically objective.”⁵⁹ Thus, denotation refers to the “definitional, literal, obvious or common-sense meaning of a sign” whose meaning is “recognized by an intercultural audience.”⁶⁰ To illustrate, on a denotative level, the image of the Red Cross signifies “an organization and its activity.”⁶¹ Similarly, a sweater signifies “a ‘warm garment’ (denotation) and thus the

⁵⁴ Theo van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 38.

⁵⁵ van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 38.

⁵⁶ van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 38.

⁵⁷ van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 38.

⁵⁸ van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 38.

⁵⁹ Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath, Fontana Communications Series (London: Fontana Press, 1977), 37, 42.

⁶⁰ Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics*, 2007, 137; Malin Brännback et al., “Cross-Cultural Studies in Entrepreneurship: A Note on Culture and Language,” in *Handbook of Research Methods and Applications in Entrepreneurship and Small Business*, ed. Alan Carsrud and Malin Brännback, Handbooks of Research Methods and Applications Series (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2014), 168.

⁶¹ Brännback et al., “Cross-Cultural Studies in Entrepreneurship,” 168.

activity/value of ‘keeping warm.’”⁶² In both cases, the “denoted image is... dis-intellectualized,” expressing solely its literal meaning and activity.⁶³

Barthes’ second layer of meaning in an image is *connotation*: “‘what ideas and values are expressed *through* what is represented, and *through* the way in which it is represented [in an image]’” (emphasis added).⁶⁴ Barthes explains that connotation is “not necessarily immediately graspable” and is “at once invisible and . . . clear.”⁶⁵ Barthes clarifies that “the code of connotation [is] . . . historical . . . or, cultural” and that, because of the code of connotation, “the reading of . . . [a] photograph is . . . always historical; it depends on the reader’s ‘knowledge’” or “cultural situation.”⁶⁶ In an image, connotation develops “when the denotative meaning interacts with the dominant cultural values associated with the sign, but also with the feelings, attitudes, and emotions of the audience/interpreter.”⁶⁷ Therefore, connotation “facilitates a deeper understanding of the sign and refers to the *personal* (emotional, ideological etc.) . . . [and] the *socio-cultural* associations [of a sign]” (emphasis added).⁶⁸ Returning to the earlier example of the sweater, while on a denotative level the sweater signifies a “‘warm garment’” and “‘keeping

⁶² Stuart Hall, “Encoding/Decoding,” in *Media and Cultural Studies: Keywords*, ed. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, *Keywords in Cultural Studies* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 168.

⁶³ Jane Davison, “The Visual Organisation: Barthesian Perspectives,” in *The Routledge Companion to Visual Organization*, ed. Emma Bell, Samantha Warren, and Jonathan Schroeder, *Routledge Companions in Business, Management and Accounting* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 34.

⁶⁴ van Leeuwen, *Introducing Social Semiotics*, 38.

⁶⁵ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 19.

⁶⁶ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 22, 27–28.

According to Barthes, “codes” may be understood as “associative fields, a supra-textual organization of notations which impose a certain idea of structure.” Scott Simpkins, *Literary Semiotics: A Critical Approach* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2001), 117. Barthes suggests that codes are “‘essentially cultural’ . . . certain types of already-seen, of already-read, of already-done.” Konstantin Butz, “Rereading American Hardcore: Intersectional Privilege and the Lyrics of Early Californian Hardcore Punk,” *Aspeers* 1 (2008): 136, <http://www.aspeers.com/2008/butz>. Barthes explains that “each code is . . . one of the voices out of which the text is woven.” Steven Cohan and Linda M. Shires, *Telling Stories: A Theoretical Analysis of Narrative Fiction*, *New Accents* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 199. As such, a *text* (i.e., an image) may be viewed as a “‘space’ where codes ‘intersect.’” Cohan and Shires, *Telling Stories*, 199; Noriko Shimoda Netley, “The Difficulty of Translation: Decoding Cultural Signs in Other Languages,” *Children’s Literature in Education* 23, no. 4 (1992): 195, doi:10.1007/BF01134006.

⁶⁷ Brännback et al., “Cross-Cultural Studies in Entrepreneurship,” 168.

⁶⁸ Brännback et al., “Cross-Cultural Studies in Entrepreneurship,” 168.

warm,”” on a *connotative* level, a sweater can signify “the coming of winter,” “a cold day” or, in the specialized language of fashion, “*haute couture*” or an “informal style of dress.”⁶⁹

Moreover, Barthes’ concept of *connotation* can also be aesthetically expressed in an image.⁷⁰ This additional form of connotation refers to “Man’s interventions in the photograph,” such as through the effects of “lighting,” “distance,” “angles,” and “use of lines.”⁷¹ Such compositional decisions on the part of the author “chang[e] the way in which we read . . . [an] image” and “sugges[t] *how* viewers should perceive a subject [represented in an image]” (emphasis added).⁷² For example, a “black-and-white or sepia-toned image of a child” could trigger “ideas of nostalgia” in a viewer.⁷³ Moreover, “the use of soft focus [i.e., camera fuzziness]” in a visual artifact is “read as sentimental,” while a “close-up draws our attention to the emotional aspect of the subject.”⁷⁴ Ultimately, the meanings brought to images through this aesthetic form of connotation “are based on [the] rules or conventions that the reader has learnt [“from a cultural code”].”⁷⁵ British visual scholar Jane Davison contends that Barthes’ concepts of denotation and connotation serve as “useful” tools to highlight the “distinction between representation . . . and symbolism.”⁷⁶ In the present study, these concepts will aid in isolating and interpreting the various co-existing meanings within the selected protest memes. The final theoretical component involved in this study’s exploration of the selected media artifacts’ visual dimension will highlight the visual memetic replication present in each artifact, an element for

⁶⁹ Hall, “Encoding/Decoding,” 168.

⁷⁰ John Fiske, *Introduction to Communication Studies*, Studies in Culture and Communication (London: Routledge, 1990), 86; David Crow, *Visible Signs: An Introduction to Semiotics in the Visual Arts*, Required Reading Range Course Reader (Lausanne: AVA Publishing, 2010), 55; Steven Cohan and Linda M. Shires, “Theorizing Language,” in *The Communication Theory Reader*, ed. Paul Cobley (London: Routledge, 1996), 127; Richard K. Popp and Andrew L. Mendelson, “X’-Ing out Enemies: Time Magazine, Visual Discourse, and the War in Iraq,” *Journalism* 11, no. 2 (2010): 205, doi:10.1177/1464884909355913.

⁷¹ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 44; Popp and Mendelson, “X’-Ing out Enemies,” 205.

⁷² Crow, *Visible Signs: An Introduction*, 55; Popp and Mendelson, “X’-Ing out Enemies,” 205.

⁷³ Crow, *Visible Signs: An Introduction*, 55.

⁷⁴ Crow, *Visible Signs: An Introduction*, 55.

⁷⁵ Crow, *Visible Signs: An Introduction*, 55; Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 44.

⁷⁶ Davison, “Visual Organisation,” 43.

which Barthes' concepts do not fully account, hence the present study's inclusion of medieval art scholar Cynthia Hahn's concept of "interpictoriality."

4.1.1.2 Interpictoriality

In the late twentieth century, interdisciplinary efforts have been made to theoretically conceptualize visual equivalents to intertextuality. Multiple concepts have emerged from anthropology and the arts that expound upon this line of inquiry. Among the first to employ a visual mode of intertextuality in anthropology were Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, who, in 1992, presented the concept of the "interocular field" in their essay, "Museums are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India."⁷⁷ This essay discusses museums in India, particularly focusing on how Indian people experience visiting museums in their country.⁷⁸ Appadurai and Breckenridge contend that when visitors, in this case Indians, come to a museum, they take with them an "archive of visual experiences" (e.g., "film and television images," and "mythic and political scenarios"), which in confluence "constitute" the interocular field.⁷⁹ It is within the interocular field that the viewers' "museum experience operates," given that viewers do not enter museums as "cultural blanks," but rather carry with them "interw[oven] ocular experiences" that enable them to engage with the media that surround them in a museum.⁸⁰ The authors express that the interocular field is an allusion to intertextuality and, as such, evidences one of the interdisciplinary attempts to employ the essence of intertextuality in visual contexts, which has been more thoroughly explored within the field of art.⁸¹

⁷⁷ Arjun Appadurai and Carol A. Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good to Think: Heritage on View in India," in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, ed. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 34–55.

⁷⁸ Appadurai and Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good," 41.

⁷⁹ Appadurai and Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good," 41.

⁸⁰ Appadurai and Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good," 41, 45, 52.

⁸¹ Appadurai and Breckenridge, "Museums Are Good," 52.

In 1991, art historian Michael Camille created the first “visual parallel” to intertextuality, termed “intervisuality,” which was subsequently absorbed into the lexicon of art history, after being introduced in his article, “Gothic Signs and the Surplus: The Kiss on the Cathedral,” a piece that explores the visual image of the kiss.⁸² Camille contends that much like meaning is “often” generated from literary texts by intertextuality in literary theory, intervisuality functions similarly as a “process in which images are not the stable referents in some ideal iconographic dictionary, but are perceived by their audiences to work across and within different and even competing value-systems.”⁸³ Camille is credited for introducing this concept into medieval studies, where fellow medieval art historian Cynthia Hahn further developed this theoretical lens.⁸⁴

In 1999, Hahn introduced the term, “interpictoriality” in her essay, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses of Stephen, Martial, and Valerie,” which explored the relationship between three chasses (i.e., a container which houses relics) from the twelfth-century that depict three distinct saints from the city of Limoges, France.⁸⁵ In this work, Hahn considers the “visual dynamics” and “viewer reception” of the imagery in each respective chasse, through employing the concept of interpictoriality, defined as an analogy to the “literary phenomenon,” intertextuality.⁸⁶ According to Hahn, intertextuality operates through “texts and cues” that recall to an individual “previously read texts to bear on current acts of reading,” and, at times, also

⁸² Michael Camille, “Gothic Signs and the Surplus: The Kiss on the Cathedral,” *Yale French Studies* no. 80 (1991): 151, doi:10.2307/2929099; Catherine E. Karkov, *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 17; Herbert R. Broderick III, “Metatextuality, Sexuality and Intervisuality in MS Junius 11,” *Word & Image* 25, no. 4 (2009): 399, doi:10.1080/02666280902717262.

⁸³ Camille, “Gothic Signs,” 151; Broderick III, “Metatextuality, Sexuality and Intervisuality.”

⁸⁴ Karkov, *Text and Picture*, 17; Cynthia Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses of Stephen, Martial, and Valerie,” in *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, ed. Colum Hourihane, Occasional Papers (Princeton University. Department of Art and Archaeology. Index of Christian Art) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 109–124.

⁸⁵ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109.

⁸⁶ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109.

summons to mind “connotations, innuendoes, and even arguments” that can influence an individual’s interpretation of a given text.⁸⁷

For Hahn, *interpictoriality* accomplishes the visual equivalent of intertextuality, allowing one to better understand the “visual dynamics of viewer reception of . . . imagery,” which is, by nature, comprised of “visual references.”⁸⁸ Hahn contends that the capability of a visual text to “generate meaning” depends upon viewers’ ability to recollect and respond to “imagery and stories during the act of viewing” said text.⁸⁹ As such, a “visual reading” of the “interpictorial dynamics” present in a visual text allows one to better engage with the “conversation among the images” and, thereby, obtain a better understanding of *what* the visual text is endeavoring to communicate to its audience and, also, *how* the author of said text was inspired by other texts.⁹⁰

Hahn acknowledges that it is not always “feasible” to “cover all the meaningful, banal, or obscure pictorial references” that an image presents, when performing an interpictorial analysis.⁹¹ Nevertheless, this tool of analysis enables one to perform “an interpretive act” on visual artifacts and, as a result, allows one to identify deeper layers of meaning that operate *within* artifacts, even when one is removed from the socio-historical context wherein they were created.⁹² Although Hahn’s concept has been largely employed in the analysis of art, such a concept lends itself to the study of visual protest memes, being that, although they function as informative pieces of political discourse, they also may be understood as contemporary protest art.⁹³ To

⁸⁷ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109.

⁸⁸ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109; Thomas Dale, review of *Image and Belief: Studies in Celebration of the Eightieth Anniversary of the Index of Christian Art*, by Colum Hourihane, ed., *The Medieval Review* (September 2001).

⁸⁹ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109.

⁹⁰ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 110, 116.

⁹¹ Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109–110.

⁹² Hahn, “Interpictoriality in the Limoges Chasses,” 109–110.

⁹³ See, J. Vanessa Lyon, “The Wheel within the Wheel: Reading Margaret of York’s Burgundian Miniatures According to the Fourfold Exegesis of Scripture,” *Word & Image* 24, no. 2 (2008): 140, doi:10.1080/02666286.2008.10405736; Amélie Dochy, “A Scottish Art and Heart: The Transparent Influence of the

conclude, Barthes' concepts of denotation and connotation, paired with Cynthia Hahn's concept of interpictureality, address the visual composition of the examined artifacts, however, these concepts alone are not sufficient tools to study the complete structure and meaning of these artifacts. As such, the following sections will introduce the two final theoretical concepts, which respond to the textual and visual-textual dimensions of the selected artifacts.

4.1.2 Textual and Visual-Textual Dimensions

4.1.2.1 Intertextuality

The concept of "intertextuality" (*intertextualité*) was first coined in 1966 by Bulgarian-born French psychoanalyst and literary critic Julia Kristeva⁹⁴ Kristeva first described intertextuality in her 1967 article titled "*Bakhtine, le mot, le dialogue et le roman*" (Bakhtin, Word, Dialogue, and Novel), in which she "expands on ideas introduced by [Russian literary theorist and philosopher] Mikhail Bakhtin" and offers the new concept of "intertextuality" to replace Bakhtin's "amorphous and too humanistic idea of intersubjectivity," "reshaping his notion of dialogicity into the less personalistic concept of intertextuality."⁹⁵ Describing her theory of "intertextuality," Kristeva states:

Scottish School of Art on Erskine Nicol's Depictions of Ireland," *Études Écossaises* 16 (2013): 137, <http://etudesecossaises.revues.org/837>; Mati Meyer, "Chastity Stripped Bare: On Temporal and Eternal Things in the Sacra Parallela," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 38, no. 1 (2014): 7, doi:10.1179/0307013113Z.00000000039; Richard K. Emmerson, "A 'Large Order of the Whole': Intertextuality and Interpictureality in the Hours of Isabella Stuart," *Studies in Iconography* 28 (2007): 51–110.

⁹⁴ Galin Tihanov, "'Post'-Bakhtin: Some Key Issues of Appropriation," *New Comparison: A Journal of Comparative and General Literary Studies* 30 (2000): 88; Cristóbal González Álvarez, "La Intertextualidad Literaria Como Metodología Didáctica de Acercamiento a La Literatura: Aportaciones Teóricas," *Lenguaje Y Textos* 21 (2003): 115, http://ruc.udc.es/dspace/bitstream/2183/8207/1/LYT_21_2003_art_9.pdf; Thomas A. Schmitz, *Modern Literary Theory and Ancient Texts: An Introduction*, trans. Thomas A. Schmitz (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 77.

⁹⁵ Julia Kristeva, *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Literature and Art*, ed. Léon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora, Alice Jardine, and Léon S. Roudiez, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University

[L]e mot (le texte) est un croisement de mots (de textes) où on lit au moins un autre mot (texte). (...) Tout texte se construit comme mosaïque de citations, tout texte est absorption et transformation d'un autre texte. A la place de la notion d'intersubjectivité s'installe celle d'intertextualité, et le langage poétique se lit, au moins comme double. ([E]ach word (text) is an intersection of words (texts) where at least one other word (text) can be read. (...) All texts are constructed as a mosaic of citations; all texts are the absorption and transformation of another text. The notion of *intertextuality* replaces that of intersubjectivity, and poetic language is read as at least *double*).⁹⁶

Kristevan intertextuality has been commonly understood as “the presence, in a given *œuvre*, of thematic, structural, or stylistic characteristics from another author or authors that, through quotations, allusions, recreations, parodies, or other methods, are integrated into its textual structure.”⁹⁷ However, after this concept received “immediate success... on both sides of the Atlantic,” Kristeva “attempt[ed] to substitute a new word for what she had meant by intertextuality,” in light of what she called the “‘banal’” (mis)understanding of her term.⁹⁸

Press, 1980), 4; Tihanov, “‘Post’-Bakhtin,” 88; *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Bakhtin, Mikhail,” accessed February 20, 2015, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mikhail-Bakhtin>.

⁹⁶ Julia Kristeva, *Σημειωτική (Séméiotiké): Recherches Pour Une Sémanalyse*, Collection Tel Quel (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969), 84–85.

⁹⁷ “la presencia, en una determinada obra, de rasgos temáticos, estructurales o estilísticos de textos de otro u otros autores que, mediante citas, alusiones, recreaciones, parodias u otros procedimientos, quedan integrados en su tejido textual” González Álvarez, “La Intertextualidad Literaria,” 115; Susan Stanford Friedman, “Weavings: Intertextuality and the (Re)Birth of the Author,” in *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*, ed. Jay Clayton and Eric Rothstein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 153–154; Ilaria Vidotto, “Intertestualità E Traduzione: Quali Soluzioni per Manhattan Di Hélène Cixous,” *Rivista Internazionale Di Tecnica Della Traduzione* 15 (2013): 202–203, https://www.openstarts.units.it/dspace/bitstream/10077/10615/1/vidotto_ritt15.pdf; Leigh Cushing Stahlberg, *Sustaining Fictions: Intertextuality, Midrash, Translation, and the Literary Afterlife of the Bible* (New York: T&T Clark, 2008), 9; Bruno Osimo, *The Fundamentals of Translation: Introductory Course with Exemplifying Tables*, trans. Alice Rampinelli, Anna Paradiso, and Bruno Osimo, 2013; Olivier Orain, “Les ‘Postvidaliens’ et Le Plain-Pied Du Monde: Pour Une Histoire de La Géo-Graphie,” in *Logiques de L’espace, Esprit Des Lieux: Géographies À Cerisy*, ed. Jacques Lévy and Michel Lussault, Mappemonde (Paris: Éditions Belin, 2000), 108.

⁹⁸ Friedman, “Intertextuality and the (Re)Birth,” 153–154.

Kristeva subsequently defined “intertextuality” as follows: “The term intertextuality denotes this transposition of one (or several) sign-system(s) into another; but since this term has often been understood in the banal sense of ‘study of sources’, we prefer the term transposition because it specifies that the passage from one signifying system to another demands a new articulation of the thetic – of enunciative and denotative positionality.”⁹⁹

French semiotician Laurent Jenny views Kristeva’s new definition as “vague” (*vaga*) as well as “misleading,” as it highlights “relations between two or more systems of signs, rather than examining relations between two [or more] texts.”¹⁰⁰ Jenny counters Kristeva’s “re-defin[ition]” of her concept, asserting that “[c]ontrary to what Kristeva says, intertextuality in the strict sense is *not unrelated* to . . . [“the study of sources” (*el estudio de fuentes*)]: it designates *not* a confused, mysterious accumulation of influences” (emphasis added).¹⁰¹ Jenny explains that “intertextuality” is “[rather] the work of transformation and assimilation of various texts [in a given *œuvre*],” performed by “a centering text that retains a position of *leadership* over meaning” (*un texte centreur qui garde le leadership du sens*).¹⁰²

According to Jenny, *intertextuality* is present in a text “when there can be found... elements exhibiting a structure created previous to the text.”¹⁰³ In addition, “Jenny distinguishes

⁹⁹ Julia Kristeva, *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi, trans. Léon S. Roudiez and Séan Hand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 111.

¹⁰⁰ González Álvarez, “La Intertextualidad Literaria,” 122; Nicholas Zurbrugg and Warren Burt, *Critical Vices: The Myths of Postmodern Theory*, Critical Voices in Art, Theory and Culture (London: Taylor & Francis, 2000), 21.

¹⁰¹ Terry Threadgold, “What Did Milton Say Belial Said and Why Don’t the Critics Believe Him?,” in *Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective*, ed. James D. Benson, Michael J. Cummings, and William S. Greaves, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1988), 341, doi:10.1075/cilt.39.13thr; Laurent Jenny, “The Strategy of Form,” in *French Literary Theory Today: A Reader*, ed. Tzvetan Todorov, trans. R. Carter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 39–40; González Álvarez, “La Intertextualidad Literaria,” 120.

¹⁰² Jenny, “The Strategy of Form,” 39–40; Nathalie Limat-Letellier, “Historique Du Concept D’intertextualité,” in *L’intertextualité*, ed. Nathalie Limat-Letellier and Marie Miguet-Ollagnier, Centre Jacques Petit; Annales Littéraires de l’Université de Franche Comté (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998), 27.

¹⁰³ Jenny, “The Strategy of Form,” 40; Mikhail Iampolski, *The Memory of Tiresias: Intertextuality and Film*, trans. Harsha Ram (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 36; Dominique Bourque, “Héloïse Ou La

weak intertextuality, simple allusion or reminiscence, from *intertextuality* proper, (...) text-to-text connection[s] as structured sets” (emphasis added).¹⁰⁴ Most commonly, according to Jenny, *weak intertextuality* is represented in a text through “*isolated* allusions or reminiscences” (*alusiones o reminiscencias puntuales*) and is “rather allusive, discontinuous,” while *intertextuality* proper is generally conveyed in a text through “imitations, parodies, quotations, montages . . . [and] plagiarisms” (*imitations, parodie, citation, montage . . . [et] plagiat*) and is “more developed and explicit” (emphasis added).¹⁰⁵ Further defining his form of intertextuality, Jenny explicates that:

What is characteristic of intertextuality, is that it introduces a new way of reading which destroys the linearity of the text. Each intertextual reference is the occasion for an alternative: either one continues reading, taking it only as a segment like any other . . . or else one turns to the source text . . . But in fact the alternative is only present for the analyst. These two processes really operate simultaneously in intertextual reading — and in discourse — studding the text with bifurcations that gradually expand its semantic space.¹⁰⁶

Voix Du Silence Dans Une Saison Dans La Vie d’Emmanuel,” *Voix et Images* 23, no. 2 (1998): 339, <http://id.erudit.org/revue/vi/1998/v23/n2/201369ar.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴ “Jenny sépare l’intertextualité faible, simple allusion ou réminiscence, de l’intertextualité proprement dite, (...) rapport[s] de texte à texte en tant qu’ensembles structurés” Anne-Claire Gignoux, *La Réécriture: Formes, Enjeux, Valeurs Autour Du Nouveau Roman*, Travaux de Stylistique et de Linguistique Françaises (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 17.

¹⁰⁵ Manfred Pfister, “Concepciones de La Intertextualidad,” in *Intertextualität 1: La Teoría de La Intertextualidad En Alemania*, ed. and trans. Desiderio Navarro (Havana: Casa de las Américas, 2004), 36; Geneviève Fabry, “‘Doloración de Vos Como Clausura’: Expresión Del Dolor Y Reescritura Sanjuanista En Carta Abierta, de Juan Gelman,” *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* 54, no. 2 (2006): 596, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40300654?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents; Christian Moraru, *Rewriting: Postmodern Narrative and Cultural Critique in the Age of Cloning*, SUNY Series in Postmodern Culture (Albany: State University of New York Press, Albany, 2001), 177–178; Jacques Vassevière and Nadine Tournel, *Littérature: Textes Théoriques et Critiques* (Paris: Armand Colin Éditeur, 2011).

¹⁰⁶ Ursula Jung, *L’énonciation Au Théâtre: Une Approche Pragmatique de L’autotexte Théâtral*, Forum Modernes Theater Schriftenreihe (Tübingen: Narr, 1994), 33; Jenny, “The Strategy of Form,” 44–45.

According to Jenny, intertextuality can confer to a text “exceptional richness” and “density,” as intertextuality “speaks a language whose vocabulary is the sum of all existing texts.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, Jenny notes that intertextuality is far more than a “simple appropriation of existing texts,” as intertextuality can “functio[n] ‘like cultural *détournement*’ [i.e., cultural hijacking] and ‘like meaning reactivation’... it is ‘an unsettling machine,’ responsible for producing *subversion*.”¹⁰⁸ The present study will employ Jenny’s understanding of intertextuality to analyze the various textual influences behind the politically-charged written discourse that accompanies the selected visual memes of 15-M and the follow-on groups. In so doing, intertextuality will help to uncover the opaque meaning-making processes that occur in these visual texts on a semantic level to produce political subversion. Barthes’ concept of “anchorage,” introduced in the following section, contributes another interpretive tool for this task.

4.1.2.2 Anchorage

Exploring the “text-image relationship,” Barthes first introduced the concept of “anchorage” (*ancrage*) in his 1964 essay “Rhetoric of the Image.”¹⁰⁹ According to Barthes, an image’s meaning is ““never certain,”” as a viewer may reach “any number of possible interpretations of

¹⁰⁷ Jenny, “The Strategy of Form,” 33, 45.

¹⁰⁸ “fonctionne[r] ‘comme *détournement culturel*’ et ‘comme *réactivation du sens*’... elle est ‘une machine perturbante’, chargée de produire la subversion” Alana Mary Rood Gillespie, “Brian O’Nolan’s Comic and Critical Reconception of Narratives of the Embellished Past in Independent Ireland, 1938-1966” (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2010), 201, <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/186897/gillespie.pdf?sequence=1>; Marc Eigeldinger, *Mythologie et Intertextualité* (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 1987), 16; Micéala Symington and Bernard Franco, “Intertextualité et Symbolisation: La Poétique d’Arthur Symons,” *Cahiers de Narratologie* 13 (2006), <http://narratologie.revues.org/352>. For a thoughtful discussion on how subversive media created by a marginalized group can have a lasting social impact, see Anne Teresa Demo, “The Guerrilla Girls’ Comic Politics of Subversion,” *Women’s Studies in Communication* 23, no. 2 (2000): 133–156, doi:10.1080/07491409.2000.10162566.

¹⁰⁹ Winfried Nöth, *Handbook of Semiotics*, Advances in Semiotics (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), 453; Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2014), 185; Nicole Biagioli, “Fantasme et Narration Dans La Carte Postale Photographique,” in *Time, Narrative and the Fixed Image/ Temps, Narration et Image Fixe*, ed. Mireille Ribière and Jan Baetens, Faux Titre (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 65.

an image and none of them ha[ve] any claim to be the correct one.”¹¹⁰ Barthes’s concept of *anchorage* describes how “written words” “freeze the endless number of possibilities [and] . . . determine a single certainty,” in this process “[words] say what the image means and . . . fix a meaning” to the image.¹¹¹ Thus, in anchorage, the word “subordinates” the image, since the text “controls the consumption of the image,” through “cordon[ing] off potentially destabilizing readings.”¹¹²

According to Barthes, through anchorage, whose function is primarily ideological, “the text *directs* the reader through the signifieds of the image, causing him [or her] to avoid some and receive others . . . it remote-controls him [or her] towards a meaning chosen in advance [‘by the author’].”¹¹³ Anchorage, in other words, “eliminates” a viewer’s “freedom . . . to come up with a variety of different interpretations, but also ends the uncertainty as to *what* the image means” (emphasis added).¹¹⁴ Barthes notes that anchorage is typically found in press photographs and advertisements, but as British visual semiotician, Daniel Chandler adds it also applies to “of course . . . other genres such as captioned photographs, maps, narrated television and film documentaries, and cartoons and comics.”¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 13; Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction*, 185.

¹¹¹ Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction*, 185; Barthes, *The Fashion System*, 13; Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 40.

¹¹² Steen Christiansen, “The Truth of the Word, the Falsity of the Image: Transmetropolitan’s Critique of the Society of the Spectacle,” in *Elective Affinities: Testing Word and Image Relationships*, ed. Catriona MacLeod, Véronique Plesch, and Charlotte Schoell-Glass, Word & Image Interactions (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 154–155; Crow, *Visible Signs: An Introduction*, 74; Joan Ramon Resina, “The Concept of After-Image and the Scopic Apprehension of the City,” in *After-Images of the City*, ed. Joan Ramon Resina and Dieter Ingenschay (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), 16.

¹¹³ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 40; Ming-tsung Lee, “Traveling with Japanese TV Dramas: Cross-Cultural Orientation and Flowing Identification of Contemporary Taiwanese Youth,” in *Feeling Asian Modernities: Transnational Consumption of Japanese TV Dramas*, ed. Kōichi Iwabuchi (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2004), 139; John A. Bateman, *Text and Image: A Critical Introduction to the Visual/Verbal Divide* (London: Routledge, 2014), 34–35.

¹¹⁴ Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction*, 185.

¹¹⁵ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 40–41; Daniel Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2002), 201.

To illustrate, in an advertisement for *d'Arcy* preserves, one sees “a few fruits scattered around [the base of] a latter” and the following caption: “*as if from your own garden.*”¹¹⁶ Although this image could connote “paucity of harvest,” “damage due to high winds,” or “freshness,” the caption helps to ensure that “the interpreter . . . [be] ‘oriented’ towards a preferred or more ‘flattering’ reading,” thereby “anchor[ing] the [preferred] meaning of ‘freshness’” as the true meaning of the image.¹¹⁷ In addition, in some cases, anchorage can also supply missing or unclear information, such as “the colour of a garment” in a black and white photograph.¹¹⁸ Further, anchorage can also “emphasize” elements of an image that “might otherwise assume equal importance” or elements not present in the photograph, such as in the case of an image that contains the phrase “an absence of buttons.”¹¹⁹

Within the context of the present study, the concept of anchorage provides another degree of understanding with respect to how the follow-on groups and 15-M sought to have their visual protest media received by their respective audiences. Furthermore, the addition of this theoretical concept to the present study also serves to address the criticism of Ella Chmielewska and Radan Martinec and Andrew Salway, with respect to the lack of attention given to the interrelation of image and text in semiotic scholarship. This study seeks to respond to this gap in semiotic literature by performing a semiotic-textual analysis, with the hope of better comprehending the function representation, and meaning-producing properties of 15-M’s and the follow-on groups’ visual representations of *malestar económico*. The following section highlights the utility of the aforementioned framework of theories to both the study of the selected visual protest artifacts

¹¹⁶ Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, 39–40.

¹¹⁷ Robert Stam, Robert Burgoyne, and Sandy Flitterman-Lewis, *New Vocabularies in Film Semiotics: Structuralism, Post-Structuralism and Beyond*, Sightlines (London, England) (London: Routledge, 1992), 29; Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction*, 58.

¹¹⁸ Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction*, 185.

¹¹⁹ Barnard, *Fashion Theory: An Introduction*, 185.

and to the memetic focus of this study; it will also specify the concepts' order of application in the analyses that follow.

4.1.3 A Semiotic-Textual Approach to *Malestar Económico*

Chapter four explores the articulation of meme of *malestar económico* by performing a semiotic-textual analysis of visual texts selected from 15-M and the follow-on groups. The theoretical approach employed in this chapter was created by pairing semiotic theories with textual analysis to form a new interdisciplinary mode of analysis for examining visual texts. This new method of analysis highlights the memetic and historical processes that were involved in the images' construction and subsequently influence their interpretation.

The semiotic component of this analysis focuses on the visual elements present in the artifacts, employing Barthes' concepts of denotation and connotation to establish an interpretative domain that is then memetically explored by way of Cynthia' Hahn's concept of interpictureoriality, which allows one to trace the historical origin of various visual components found the artifacts. Finally, upon identifying the signs in the examined artifact and establishing their denotation, connotation, and interpictureorial lineage, one is able to discuss how the textual components in the artifact function vis-à-vis the overall interpretation of the text. In order to analyze the text found in the artifacts, two textual theories are employed: Jenny's interpretation of intertextuality and Barthes' anchorage. Intertextuality will aid in describing how certain intertextual (i.e., extra-textual) figures impact the overall interpretation of an artifact. Once the intertextual figures present in an artifact have been identified, one proceeds to discuss how the text that accompanies an image affects the interpretation of the visual component of the artifact, through the concept of anchorage.

Upon the completion of the visual, textual, and visual-textual analyses of the examined artifacts, the present study will use an ideological lens to interpret these findings in relation to larger socio-political processes, such as the contestation and (re)articulation of power dynamics. Moreover, given that the proposed analysis involves an examination of memes *within* memes — a practice not commonly found in typical memetic analyses — through interpictoriality and intertextuality, this chapter's theoretical approach proves to be an important contribution to the study of memes in this thesis and, more generally, to the field of memetics itself. The following section will begin the articulation of the study's framework by analyzing two of 15-M's visual protest memes that depict the meme of *malestar económico*.

4.1.4 15-M (Asamblea Popular de Alcalá de Henares)



Figure 13. Asamblea Popular de Alcalá de Henares (15-M) (March 27, 2012).¹²⁰

Translation Key
<i>Tú produces su riqueza</i> You make their wealth
<i>Puedes pararlos cuando quieras</i> You can stop them whenever you wish
<i>Huelga Laboral y de consumo</i> Labor and Consumer Strike

¹²⁰ “Comunicado sobre Huelga General 29M,” *Asamblea Popular de Alcalá de Henares*, published March 27, 2012, <http://acampada-adh.blogspot.com/2012/03/comunicado-sobre-huelga-general-29m.html>.

The visual protest meme presented above (Figure 13) was published on March 27, 2012 on the website of the Asamblea Popular de Alcalá de Henares (Popular Assembly of Alcalá de Henares).¹²¹ This black-and-white image, if studied from top to bottom, reads “*TU PRODUCES SU RIQUEZA / PUEDES PARARLOS CUANDO QUIERAS*” (YOU MAKE THEIR WEALTH / YOU CAN STOP THEM WHENEVER YOU WISH) and, on the lower-left side of the image, one sees a man wearing workmen’s apparel, including a hardhat, manufacturing 500-euro bills. The bottom portion of the image proclaims in large uppercase letters “*HUELGA LABORAL Y DE CONSUMO*” (LABOR AND CONSUMER STRIKE); this message is accompanied on the left by the logos of the Popular Assembly of Alcalá de Henares and 15-M. The visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of this protest meme will be analyzed in the table that follows and the most salient characteristics will be interpreted below.

¹²¹ Asamblea Popular de Alcalá de Henares, “Comunicado sobre Huelga General 29M.”

Table 1. Semiotic-Textual Analysis: 15-M (Alcalá de Henares)

Visual	Denotation		Connotation	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A male factory worker printing paper money 		1. <i>Cultural/Associative:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The type of paper money printed by the factory worker (500-euro bills) in Spain is associated with organized crime and tax evasion.¹²² 2. <i>Aesthetic:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sketchy, thin lines are used to draw the Euro currency machine, insinuating weakness Worker is shown in an ambiguous position, appearing to either move forward or backward, communicating the uncertain continuance of the capitalist model Shading placed on clothing of the worker, implying sweat stains due to strenuous labor Text is written in a ransom note style, adding a threatening tone All text written in uppercase letters for added stress 	
			Interpictoriality	
			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The factory worker in the image bears a resemblance to the Captain Euro figure The European Union flag can be seen on the front of the bill-printing machine The Euro currency symbol (€) is present in the center of the European flag 	
Textual	Intertextuality		Anchorage	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weak intertextuality: The phrase “<i>Tú produces su riqueza</i>” (You make their wealth) appears to allude to the Marxist conception of the proletariat. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The text clarifies to the viewer that the image of the factory worker represents the working class Spaniard whose labor is vital to the financial stability of the rich and/or corrupt in the European Union and Spain. 	

¹²² Antoni-Albert Artigues and Onofre Rullan, “Nuevo Modelo de Producción Residencial Y Territorio Urbano Disperso (Mallorca, 1998-2006),” *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía Y Ciencias Sociales* 245 (2007), <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-24510.htm>; Ramón Muñoz, “Los bancos deben informar de toda transacción con billetes de 500 euros,” *El País*, published April 5, 2014, http://economia.elpais.com/economia/2014/04/05/actualidad/1396726698_256675.html.

In terms of the visual dimension of this artifact, on a denotative level, this image depicts a hardhat-clad male factory worker manufacturing paper money. When this denotative meaning interacts with a Spaniard's cultural "situation" — through connotation — a number of key connotative aspects emerge. To begin the discussion of connotation, one of the most prominent visual elements of this meme is the sizable pile of five-hundred euro bills gathered before the currency-generating machine. In Spain, five-hundred euro bills have the particular cultural association of being a monetary note frequently carried by individuals who engage in tax evasion and organized crime (e.g., money laundering and human trafficking); the worker's involvement in the creation of these bills indirectly turns him into a complicit participant in such nefarious activities.

A closer examination of the aesthetics of the image reveals that the profession of the factory worker is dangerous (insinuated by a hardhat), strenuous (one can see visible sweat stains on his apparel), and unprofitable (evidenced by his mended uniform and tattered shoes). Furthermore, this workers' kinesic posture yields an important interpretive meaning, being that he is posed in an ambiguous manner, such that his movement may either be viewed as an attempt to operate the apparatus (i.e., moving crank forward) or stop the machine (i.e., moving the crank backward). The worker's imprecise positioning communicates to the viewer two ideas with respect to the sustainability of the capitalist model of the European Union and Spain: 1) the capitalist model is, in part, determined by and predicated upon the compliance of the worker and 2) the worker possesses critical agency in facilitating this economic model, having the choice to either maintain or terminate it.

The image's connotative meanings become provocatively ironic as a result of an interpictureorial component that also operates within this artifact: the figure of Captain Euro.

Although not readily apparent initially, the worker in this meme appears to be a weakened and gaunt memetic replication and expression of Captain Euro, a comic hero created by a Spanish-based marketing firm in 1998 for the European Union.¹²³ This figure was envisioned to “promote” the currency of the Euro and to “strengthen” and build a positive attitude of the “European identity.”¹²⁴ In the European Union, Captain Euro was presented as a “symbol of European unity and values,” who was determined to utilize only “intellect, culture, and logic—not violence” to fulfill his role as “protector of Europe.”¹²⁵ However, the use of Captain Euro in this 15-M meme portrays the European Union not as an unwavering entity that always acts “just[ly],” but rather as a system characterized by grave economic problems that prevent it from properly defending the quality of life of all European Union citizens, in this case, Spaniards.¹²⁶ The interpretation of this inter pictorial parody is further substantiated upon examining the textual dimension of this artifact, which illustrates an instantiation of weak intertextuality.

In the upper left-hand side of the artifact, the text, “*Tú produces su riqueza*”(You make their wealth) appears, which alludes to the Marxist bourgeoisie-proletariat relationship the author of this artifact insinuates to be the reality of the European Union.¹²⁷ This weak intertextual allusion frames European Union authorities and wealthy citizens as the bourgeoisie and *average* EU citizens — the intended audience interpellated by the pronoun *tú* (you) — as the proletariat. Exploring the visual-textual dimension, the text included in this image — particularly the phrase “*Tú produces su riqueza*”(You make their wealth) — serves to anchor an interpretation of the

¹²³ Johan Fornäs, “Between Captain Euro and Entropa: Symbols of Europe as Ambivalent Identifiers,” in *Media, Culture and Identity in Europe*, ed. Savas Arslan et al. (Istanbul: Bahçeşehir University Press, 2009), 25.

¹²⁴ Murray Pratt, “Imagining Union: European Cultural Identity in the Pre-Federal Future Perfect,” *PORTAL Journal of Multidisciplinary International Studies* 2, no. 2 (2005): 3, doi:10.5130/portal.v2i2.110; Fornäs, “Between Captain Euro and Entropa,” 25.

¹²⁵ Fornäs, “Between Captain Euro and Entropa,” 25.

¹²⁶ Fornäs, “Between Captain Euro and Entropa,” 25.

¹²⁷ Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx, and Marshall Berman, *The Communist Manifesto: (Penguin Classics Deluxe Edition)*, trans. Samuel Moore (New York: Penguin Books, 2014).

image as reflective not of the perils of factory work, but rather of the power wielded by working-class Spaniards, by virtue of their ability to decide if the capitalist model, which significantly benefits the wealthy, the corrupt, and the European Union, is to continue in Spain.

This meme expresses *malestar económico* through its transgressive depiction and challenge to the uniaxential meaning of signs depicted in this artifact, which are taken from dominant ideological systems found in Spain and the European Union. The network of signs that comprise this meme (e.g., the capitalist model) undergoes a meaning *destabilization* through 15-M's pictorial and discursive articulation of alternative meanings. These new 15-M-conceived meanings challenge the "official" uniaxential meaning of the signs, thereby undermining their intended meaning, stability, and authority. The destabilization of the sign of the capitalist model (and other signs related thereto), through 15-M's visual-textual discourse, performs an important ideological function: it re-distributes power and agency from those "in power" to average Spanish citizens. In essence, this meme re-negotiates ideologically-rooted power politics concerning Spanish citizens' role in a capitalist society, from one who is controlled by those who possess greater wealth to the one who holds the greatest power of all. Much like the analysis of the first 15-M artifact, the second 15-M artifact also depicts an act of citizen power re-negotiation, however, the means through which this process occurs becomes metaphorically violent, in contrast to the prior example.

4.1.5 15-M (Acampada de Barcelona)



Figure 14. Acampada de Barcelona (15-M) (March 28, 2012).¹²⁸

Translation Key
<i>Yo también veo necesario hacer algunos recortes</i> I also think it's necessary to make a few cuts

The preceding protest meme (Figure 14) was posted on the Tumblr webpage of the Acampada de Barcelona (Acampada of Barcelona) on March 28, 2012.¹²⁹ In this image, if read from left-to-right, one views a large guillotine that is stained with blood and, on the right, the following text is written in uppercase letters: “YO TAMBIÉN VEO NECESARIO HACER ALGUNOS RECORTES” (I ALSO THINK IT'S NECESSARY TO MAKE A FEW CUTS). The image is composed mostly in a grayscale that ranges from white to deep shades of charcoal, having occasional shades of blue; the guillotine towers over the accompanying text. In the table that

¹²⁸ “March 28, 2012,” acampadaBCN, published March 28, 2012, <http://acampadabcn.tumblr.com/post/20067258600>.

¹²⁹ acampadaBCN, “March 28, 2012.”

follows, the visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of this protest meme will be explored and the most notable characteristics will be subsequently interpreted.

Table 2. Semiotic-Textual Analysis: 15-M (Barcelona)

Visual	Denotation		Connotation		
	• A large guillotine which is not in current use		1. <i>Cultural/Associative</i> : • The guillotine is largely associated in Spain with the French Revolution and the people’s justice (revolutionary justice) . ¹³⁰ 2. <i>Aesthetic</i> : • The guillotine is set at an angle , giving it greater dimension in the piece • The guillotine is positioned at a higher level than viewer, communicating a power disparity • The guillotine is colored with a grayscale with subtle blue undertones , which creates a somewhat surreal appearance • A highlight is placed on the blade of the guillotine, giving prominence to this element • Use of uppercase on all text , communicating sternness		
	Interpictoriality				
	• The ornate, old-fashioned guillotine recalls the guillotines of the French Revolution				
Textual	Intertextuality		Visual -Textual	Anchorage	
	• <i>Intertextuality (proper)</i> : The text to the right of the guillotine performs a parody of the Spanish Government’s pro-austerity discourse			• The text specifies to the viewer that the people’s will (represented by the guillotine in the image) can be used against those in the Spanish government who seem to ambivalently approve cuts in public services, this lack of regard evidenced by the use of the term “ <i>algunos</i> ” (some). ¹³¹	

¹³⁰ José Antonio González Alcantud, *Antropología (y) Política: Sobre La Formación Cultural Del Poder*, Biblioteca A (Barcelona: Anthropos Editorial, 1998), 105; Jesús Cantera Ortiz de Urbina, "El Enriquecimiento Del Léxico Francés Durante La Revolución Y Su Traducción Al Español," in *Encuentros Complutenses En Torno a La Traducción, 2-6 de Abril de 1990*, ed. Margit Raders and Julia Sevilla Muñoz (Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1993), 202; Anna Reuter, "Francisco de Goya En El Extranjero: El Viaje a Italia Y El Exilio En Francia," in *El Arte Español Fuera de España*, ed. Miguel Cabañas Bravo, Biblioteca de Historia Del Arte (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 44.

Beginning with the visual dimension of this artifact, a large visually prominent guillotine, which is unoccupied, is denotatively depicted on the left side of the image. This sign (i.e., the guillotine), when viewed by a Spaniard is likely to be connotatively understood as a symbol of the French Revolution of the eighteenth century and the French people's revolutionary justice exacted against those in power during this period. On an aesthetic level, multiple facets of this meme's overall composition yield salient connotative meanings, such as the elevated position of the guillotine, which creates a visual power disparity that confers greater power to the guillotine (set at a higher level) than to the viewer, who is required to look above eye-level to observe the machine. In addition, the guillotine's slanted placement creates greater three-dimensionality, giving a realistic appearance to the object, whose historical existence and use continue to remain part of European memory in modern times. Despite the fact that capital punishment is not in practice in modern-day Spain, the lunette of the guillotine in the meme displays a splattering of blood, paradoxically conveying the object's recent use. Further, the blade of the guillotine is highlighted, making this element of the machine a visual focal point for the intended audience of this artifact: Spanish politicians. To conclude the discussion of the visual dimension of this artifact, the inter pictorial figure operating in this meme is the guillotine, which embodies a visual essence reminiscent of the guillotines employed during the French Revolution.

With regard to the textual dimension of this artifact, the written content (i.e., *YO TAMBIÉN VEO NECESARIO HACER ALGUNOS RECORTES*) elucidates an instantiation of intertextuality proper. The text parodies the Spanish Government's pro-austerity discourse, which has abounded since the onset of the economic crisis, through the mention of making some

¹³¹ Álex Grijelmo, *La Gramática Descomplicada*, Pensamiento (Mexico City: Santillana Ediciones Generales, 2006); Antonio Careaga, *Gramática Elemental (teórico-Práctica) de La Lengua Castellana* (Mexico City: Imprenta de Aguilar e Hijos, 1882), 88; Maria de Lourdes R. Coimbra, *Gramática Práctica de Español*, ed. Valdez Cardeal (São Paulo: Nobel, 1984), 53–54.

“*recortes*.” Moreover, the use of the adverb “*también*” (also) further illustrates how this 15-M text echoes pre-existing discourse in a sardonic tone. In terms of the visual-textual dimension of this meme, the text included in this image creates an anchorage that expresses to the viewer, expectedly Spanish politicians, that those in the Spanish government who appear to ambivalently approve “*algunos*” (some) *recortes* will be held accountable for their actions and *will* be forced to face the people’s will.

It should be noted that in the parodic text that accompanies the image, the term “*algunos*” (some), used in the phrase “*hacer algunos recortes*” (make some cuts), functions as an indefinite adjective. In Spanish, indefinite adjectives are frequently used to communicate “vague and imprecise” (*vago e impreciso*) meaning.¹³² *Algunos*, in particular, can be used to “soften” (*atenúa[r]*) a speaker’s discourse, through discursively *reducing* the magnitude and impact of the subject matter in question.¹³³ Moreover, along pragmatic lines, *algunos* can also communicate a speaker’s lack of concern or interest in a given subject, as the use of such a term lacking in precision may be attributable to a speaker “not want[ing]” to count the exact “number of objects” to which he or she is referring.¹³⁴ With this in mind, in the context of this image, the use of “*algunos*” performs two salient discursive functions: 1) it discursively minimizes the impact of austerity cuts through making them appear numerically small and thus insignificant and 2) it subtly conveys a lack of personal concern on the part of the politicians regarding the approval of cuts, as despite the ostensibly small number of cuts, the politicians cannot be troubled to specify the exact number of cuts in their discourse.

¹³² Coimbra, *Gramática Práctica de Español*, 53; Careaga, *Gramática Elemental (teórico-Práctica)*, 88.

¹³³ Carmen Aracelys López and Alexandra Álvarez Muro, “Cortesía Y Estigma En El Discurso Sobre El Síndrome de Down,” in *(Des)cortesía En Español: Espacios Teóricos Y Metodológicos Para Su Estudio*, ed. Franca Orletti and Laura Mariottini (Rome-Stockholm: Università degli Studi Roma Tre-EDICE, 2010), 171–172; Coimbra, *Gramática Práctica de Español*, 54.

¹³⁴ “*no quer[er]*” “*número de objetos*” Grijelmo, *La Gramática Descomplicada*.

Malestar económico is expressed in this meme, in part, through its challenge to the primarily uniaccental meaning of the term “*recorte*,” which in recent years has been commonly associated with Spanish politicians’ technical and sterile discussion of proposed budget cuts and austerity measures via media outlets.¹³⁵ In many respects, those in power in Spain have created a uniaccental understanding of *recorte* to be a cold economic term used to describe a budget reduction, a definition that distances this word from the human condition. This, in turn, creates a communication barrier between those in power and the rest of the Spanish public. This terminological barrier keeps those in power from directly acknowledging the people who have (or will) suffer the real-life consequences of this utterance (i.e., *recortes*) and to whom this technical term implies more than a three-syllable rhetorical euphemism.

In this meme, 15-M speaks from the other side of the barrier to *destabilize* the “official” meaning of *recortes* and evoke the *multiaccentual* quality of this utterance. In its discourse, 15-M colors this typically de-humanized term with a strong human dimension, through lightly insinuating — perhaps purely ironically — the decapitation of the *recorte*-declaring Spanish politicians. This meme does not necessarily encourage violence, as it couches a potential threat of violence in the veiled and ambiguous meaning of the term *recortes* (cuts), allowing for multiple interpretations. In this way, 15-M re-deploys the same ambiguity and lack of human regard with which the Spanish politicians have enacted “some” *recortes* in the Spanish public sector when presenting its own form of cuts: perhaps administrative, perhaps corporal.

On an ideological level, the interaction of the various signs within this meme illustrates a new articulation of Spanish hegemonic political power dynamics. 15-M’s counter-hegemonic discourse subverts traditional power roles, leaving the fate of Spanish politicians to be

¹³⁵ The noun *recorte(s)* comes from the verb *recortar*, which means “[c]ortar o cercenar lo que sobra de algo” (to cut or to chop off what remains of something). *Diccionario de la lengua española online*, s.v. “Recortar,” accessed June 18, 2015, <http://lema.rae.es/drae/srv/search?id=oqGf5O8UhDXX2UPyTirb>.

determined by the *people*, who hold the *real* power. In this artifact, the people's re-distribution of power is obtained by their symbolic possession of the guillotine, an object which has historically served as an instrument of punishment for those whose actions have been deemed unjust or unethical. In brief, this meme brings to the fore the most unavoidable element of the human condition (i.e., death) to protest the dehumanization of the utterance *recortes*, employed by Spanish political leaders. To this point, both 15-M memes that express *malestar económico* have been examined and discussed, with the exception of outlining the memetic characteristics of 15-M's visual expression of *malestar económico*. This element will be addressed in the comparison section of this chapter, following the analysis of the follow-on groups' memes.

4.1.6 Follow-On Group's Visual Media

The present section will examine the meme of *malestar económico* in the visual protest artifacts of the four selected 15-M follow-on groups. The ensuing analysis will be useful in determining to what degree and in which respect(s) the follow-on groups engaged in the replication of the 15-M memeplex meme of *malestar económico* or, alternatively, developed an individualized approach and expression of this particular meme. This section will commence with an examination of the Marea Blanca's representation of *malestar económico*, followed by the remaining three follow-on groups.

4.1.7 Marea Blanca



Figure 15. Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid (April 9, 2013).¹³⁶

¹³⁶ “Privatizando la sanidad: Nuestra deuda, su negocio,” Madrid Toma la Plaza, published April 9, 2013, <http://madrid.tomalaplaza.net/2013/04/09/privatizando-la-sanidad-nuestra-deuda-su-negocio/>.

Translation Key
<p>¡Shhh.....! +Privatizando la Sanidad+ Shhh.....! / + Privatizing Healthcare +</p> <p>“Nuestra deuda, su negocio” “Our debt, their business deal”</p> <p>12 de Abril [sic] de 2013 a las 19:00h. Escuela de Relaciones Laborales C/ San Bernardo. nº 49 - Madrid April 12, 2013 at 19:00 hours. School of Labor Relations San Bernardo St. #49 - Madrid</p> <p>Charla de Café [sic] amb Llet* Talk with <i>Cafè amb Llet</i></p> <p><i>Una explicación de los mecanismos legales que permiten que millones de euros cada año se gestionen de espaldas a la ciudadanía. Los casos de corrupción en la sanidad catalana que ahora sufrimos en la Comunidad de Madrid.</i> An explanation of the legal mechanisms that allow millions of euros to be managed behind the backs of the citizenry. The cases of corruption in Catalanian healthcare that we now suffer in the Community of Madrid.</p> <p><i>Organiza: Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad de Madrid en colaboración con la Escuela de Relaciones Laborales de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid</i> Organized by: Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid <i>in collaboration with the</i> School of Labor Relations at the Complutense University of Madrid.</p> <p>*T.N.: <i>Cafè amb Llet</i> (Coffee with Milk) is a Catalanian newspaper.</p>

The protest meme that appears above (Figure 15) was posted on the Sol Acampada’s “tomalaplaza” website on April 9, 2013.¹³⁷ This image was created by the Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad de Madrid (MEDSAP) (the Committee in Defense of Public Healthcare in Madrid), an active member of the Marea Blanca in Madrid.¹³⁸ If read from top to bottom, this meme shows an

¹³⁷ Madrid Toma la Plaza, “Privatizando la sanidad.”

¹³⁸ Consulta por la Sanidad, Facebook page, accessed March 20, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/ConsultaPorLaSanidad/photos/a.319413444846942.75898.314931825295104/356743194447300/>; “Galería de fotos de Charla de Cafè amb Llet: Organiza: Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid” Central Sindical Independiente y de Funcionarios, published April 8, 2013, http://www.csi-f.es/node/139322/image_gallery.

image of a cleanly-manicured nurse making a silencing gesture by placing her index finger in front of her mouth; the nurse is surrounded by large, colorful letters that spell out the onomatopoeic word “Shhh.” Directly below the nurse, one can read the phrases “+*Privatizando la Sanidad*+” (+ Privatizing Healthcare +) and ““*Nuestra deuda, su negocio*”” (Our debt, their business deal). The lower half of the image includes a block of text that describes an upcoming event regarding corruption in the Spanish healthcare system, organized by the Committee in Defense of Public Healthcare in Madrid and the School of Labor Relations at the Complutense University of Madrid (whose logo can be found in the lower-right corner). The image has a noticeable red, white, and blue color scheme and overall strong color contrast. In the sections that follow, the visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of this protest meme will be examined in an organized table and the most salient characteristics will be subsequently interpreted.

Table 3. Semiotic-Textual Analysis: Mesa en Defensa de la Sanidad Pública de Madrid

Visual	Denotation		Connotation	
	• A female nurse silencing those in her vicinity		1. <i>Cultural/Associative</i> : • This image of a nurse silencing others is associated in Spain with a sign that historically hung in Spanish hospitals, whose quieting command was often viewed as authoritative and was followed without opposition. ¹³⁹ 2. <i>Aesthetic</i> : • Use of black-and-white image against color , creating strong color contrast • A star framing the image of the nurse highlights her prominence in the meme • The use of shadowing around the nurse makes image of nurse “jump out” • Use of a large font size in the word “Shhh” for emphasis	
	Interpictoriality			
	• The meme, in its entirety, resembles a common Spanish hospital sign that would read “[<i>Silencio,</i>] <i>Por Favor</i> ” ([Silence,] Please). ¹⁴⁰ • The composition of the meme, including its star, white space, blue and red lettering, and plus symbols (+) resemble the design of the Community of Madrid’s tarjeta sanitaria (healthcare card)			
Textual	Intertextuality		Visual -Textual	Anchorage
	• <i>Weak intertextuality</i> : The word “Shhh” alludes to the silencing messages written on posters previously hung in Spanish hospitals and clinics.			• The text specifies to the viewer that the nurse in the image is making a shushing gesture to keep the privatization of Spanish hospitals, for avaricious purposes, a secret.

¹³⁹ Mari Carmen Perea Baena, “El Silencio En La UCI: ¿Una Utopía?,” *Evidentia* 10 (2006), <http://www.index-f.com/evidentia/n10/241articulo.php>; Marcos Torío, “Ssshhh!,” *El Mundo*, last modified February 21, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/baleares/2015/02/21/54e85604e2704e150d8b456c.html>.

¹⁴⁰ “El micromillonario Hospital de La Fe utiliza carteles en blanco y negro y atiende en los pasillos,” *Noticias de la Comunidad Valenciana*, published July 12, 2012, <http://www.noticiascv.com/el-macromillonario-hospital-de-la-fe-utiliza-carteles-en-blanco-y-negro-y-atende-en-los-pasillos/>; “UPyD denuncia el estado de abandono del Centro de Salud Blas de Otero de Alcobendas,” *Unión, Progreso y Democracia*, published June 26, 2014, <http://weblogs.upyd.es/alcobendas/2014/06/26/upyd-denuncia-el-estado-de-abandono-del-centro-de-salud-blas-de-otero-de-alcobendas/>.

Beginning with the visual dimension of this meme, a female nurse advancing her left index finger toward her lips in order to silence those in her vicinity is denotatively depicted. This denotative description, when connotatively interpreted by Spaniards, would likely bring to mind a similar poster that was typically hung in the hallways and waiting rooms of Spanish hospitals and clinics, beginning in the first half of the twentieth century; in the present, this infamous poster can still be found at some rural and remote Spanish medical centers.¹⁴¹ In addition, the medical sign MEDSAP's poster "recalls" on a connotative level also carries a particular socio-psychological connotation: obliged silence. As Spanish journalist Marcos Torío notes, when considering the dynamic this poster created in the past: "*el silencio era ley en el médico*" (silence used to be the law at the doctor's office).¹⁴² This quote evidences the medically-derived ethos this poster commanded in the past and its capacity to interpellate those who visited medical spaces to oblige the express command of silence. MEDSAP's 2013 meme also invokes the socio-psychological connotation of obliged silence, although with a slightly ironic undertone, as the meme itself endeavors to spread awareness about the privatization of hospitals, rather than silence the discussion of this subject.

On an aesthetic level, this meme capitalizes on the aforementioned memory through utilizing both black-and-white and color in its composition to create a strong color contrast, which simultaneously evokes the past (i.e., black and white) and present (i.e., color). Moreover, the nurse's nonverbal communication, particularly in the channel of kinesics (i.e., the nurse placing her index finger to her lips), illustrates how the nonverbal cues displayed in this meme serve to complement the intended meaning of "¡Shhh.....!", which is superimposed upon the image and written in towering letters.

¹⁴¹ Marisol Donis, "El Botón Del Pánico," *El Farmacéutico* 467 (2012): 65, <http://ae fla.portal farma.com/ATUSALUD467.pdf>.

¹⁴² Torío, "Ssshhh!"

With respect to the inter pictorial dynamics of this meme, two particularly intriguing visual references appear. First, when viewed in its entirety, the meme appears to be a memetic replication and expression of a now antiquated Spanish hospital sign that depicts a female nurse dressed in white, set against a light blue background (mentioned earlier in this section). In said poster, the nurse communicates nonverbally, through gesticulation, the message of silence (i.e., finger placed against closed lips), accompanied by the following capitalized and bolded text: “[*Silencio,*] *Por Favor.*” The second visual reference that appears in this meme is the Community of Madrid’s *tarjeta sanitaria* (healthcare card). Upon comparing the graphic design of this artifact with that of the *tarjeta sanitaria*, it becomes apparent that MEDSAP has memetically replicated numerous elements of the graphic composition of this card (e.g., its white star, white spacing, combination of red and blue lettering, and plus symbol), likely in an effort to highlight the relevance of this meme’s message to its intended audience of everyday Spaniards living in the Community of Madrid. These two inter pictorial figures, which respectively represent symbols of the past and present, also serve to create a temporal disjuncture, which serves to bring greater interest to this meme’s message.

Moving onward to the textual dimension, this artifact exhibits an example of weak intertextuality being that, as mentioned previously, the word “Shhh” as it appears on the MEDSAP poster, alludes to the silencing command written on the posters which were hung in Spanish clinics and hospitals in the past. In terms of the visual-textual dimension, this intertextual allusion plays a pivotal role in the overall anchorage of this meme, given that this word, in addition to the informative text in the lower half of the meme, enables the viewer to better decipher the intended meaning of the image of the nurse: she represents the efforts of the

State and healthcare businesses to *silently* privatize Spanish hospitals, at the expense of the Madrilians' personal finances and overall health.

Malestar económico is communicated in this meme through the production of a subversive discourse pertaining to the Community of Madrid's privatization of healthcare. This subversive discourse presents itself via the juxtaposition of symbols of the *past* (i.e., a historical black-and-white image of a “shushing” nurse) and *present* (i.e., text concerning the recent privatization of the Community of Madrid's hospitals), creating a mixed-temporal space wherein MEDSAP strategically alters, challenges, and *destabilizes* the dominant ideology's propagated uniaccentual meaning of the “shushing” nurse. In the minds of many Spaniards, this sign is an embodiment of authority and respect, yet in the case of MEDSAP's meme, a distinct meaning is ascribed to this sign, by virtue of the sign's parodic textual framing. In essence, MEDSAP's use of the sign of the “shushing” nurse elucidates and capitalizes upon what Vološinov describes as the “*struggle*” of meaning that all multiaccentual signs experience playfully exploiting and displaying the “dialectical flux” of the sign, in order to construct the group's transgressive discourse.¹⁴³

Briefly retuning to Vološinov, an ideological sign maintains an “*inner dialectic quality*” that emerges into the open “only in times of social crises or revolutionary changes.”¹⁴⁴ During “ordinary” life “conditions,” Vološinov asserts, the “contradiction[s] embedded” in all ideological signs are unable to “fully emerge,” owing to the fact that ideological signs “in . . . established dominant ideolog[ies]” are “somewhat reactionary” and attempt to “stabilize the . . . dialectical flux.”¹⁴⁵ That being so, in the case of the privatization of the Community of Madrid's healthcare, one can understand how such an event has engendered a “social crisis” for many

¹⁴³ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23–24.

¹⁴⁴ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23.

¹⁴⁵ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23–24.

Spaniards living in this this autonomous community. This, in turn, has enabled the “contradiction[s]” of this sign to “fully emerge,” bringing forth a competing meaning of the “shushing nurse”: to defy authority and speak aloud.¹⁴⁶ From an ideological perspective, the overall composition of this meme illustrates, on both textual and visual levels, a power struggle between the State and the *people* (e.g., the juxtaposition of temporalities and “dialectical flux” of signs). In this struggle, the authority and actions of the State are put into question and challenged through the re-deployment of State-created uniaccentual signs (e.g., historical “shushing” nurse, *tarjeta sanitaria*) in a critical context that disputes their validity, through the emphasis placed on MEDSAP’s subversive meanings of these same signs. This theme of challenging State policy decisions in the healthcare sector will be continued in the following analysis of an artifact by Yayoflautas Córdoba.

¹⁴⁶ Vološinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy*, 23–24.

4.1.8 Yayoflautas (Córdoba)



Figure 16. Yayoflautas Córdoba (July 14, 2012).¹⁴⁷

Translation Key
<p><i>Hoy Repago...</i> Today Co-pay...¹⁴⁸</p> <p><i>Mañana Topago [sic]...</i> Tomorrow I-pay-everything...</p> <p><i>“Rebelión”</i> “Rebellion”</p>

¹⁴⁷ “10 de Julio de 2012 - Pancartas de los YayoFlautas cordobeses para su ‘travesura’ en las oficinas del INSS,” *Campamante*, published July 14, 2012, <http://campamante.blogspot.com/2012/07/blog-post.html>.

¹⁴⁸ In English, “*repago*” is most accurately translated as “co-pay,” however, it should be noted that the term *copago* (co-pay) does in fact exist in Spanish. The authors’ decision to not use the term *copago* in this meme is deliberate, as “*repago*” (literally, “pay again”), a neologism used in lieu of *copago*, uniquely emphasizes the duplicate form of payment required of Spaniards — who pay for universal healthcare services with taxes — when charged a co-pay. Gaspar Llamazares Trigo, “Copago No: ‘Repago’ Y Privatización,” *El País*, June 15, 2010; “Copago y repago: Dos neologismos bien formados,” Fundéu BBVA, published May 9, 2012, <http://www.fundeu.es/recomendacion/copago-y-repago-dos-neologismos-bien-formados-1324/>; Juan Carlos Escudier, “No es copago sino repago,” *Público*, published April 27, 2011, <http://blogs.publico.es/escudier/2011/04/no-es-copago-sino-repago/>.

The visual protest meme exhibited above (Figure 16) was created by the Córdoba node of Yayoflautas and was published online on July 14, 2012 on “Campamante,” a Yayoflautas Córdoba-affiliated blog.¹⁴⁹ This image is part of a series of healthcare-themed memes created by Yayoflautas Córdoba in July of 2012 for their “*travesura*” (mischief) at the offices of the Instituto Nacional de la Seguridad Social (INSS) (National Social Security Institute).¹⁵⁰ In this meme, one’s attention is immediately drawn to a clenched fist located slightly off-center, presented in a sepia tone. The image’s text begins with the emphatic phrase “*Hoy REPAGO...*” (Today CO-PAY...), followed by a second clause: “*Mañana TOPAGO [sic]...*” (Tomorrow I-PAY-EVERYTHING...). In both phrases, the terms that distinguish time are written in red lettering (*Hoy* (Today), *Mañana* (Tomorrow)), while the words relating to payment (*REPAGO* (CO-PAY), *TOPAGO [sic]* (I-PAY-EVERYTHING)) are written in yellow uppercase letters. In the lower portion of the image, one can read the word “*REBELIÓN*” (REBELLION), which is centered and written in red uppercase letters, in a large font size. This image makes use of a wide range of colors, shading techniques, and punctuation for added emphasis. The visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of this meme will be examined in the following chart and the most remarkable characteristics will then be interpreted.

¹⁴⁹ *Campamante*, “10 de Julio de 2012.”

¹⁵⁰ *Campamante*, “10 de Julio de 2012.”

Table 4. Semiotic-Textual Analysis: Yayoflaudas Córdoba

Visual	Denotation		Connotation		
	• A clenched, raised fist held in a steady position		1. <i>Cultural/Associative</i> : • The raised fist in Spain is culturally viewed as a sign of working class solidarity . ¹⁵¹ • The raised fist in Spain is also associated with left-wing politics . ¹⁵² 2. <i>Aesthetic</i> : • Sepia tone gives the extended fist a historic air • The use of “blurring” around the circumference of the fist draws viewer’s attention to the center of the meme • Red and yellow text increases the urgency of the protest message due to their brightness • Use of uppercase letters for emphasis		
	Interpictoriality				
	• The firm, extended fist in this meme evokes the Republican fist of the Spanish Civil War. For example, the 1938 Republican poster entitled, <i>Pulso de acero en la resistencia y en el contraataque</i> , prominently displays a similar fist.				
Textual	Intertextuality		Visual -Textual	Anchorage	
	• <i>Intertextuality (proper)</i> : The use of the term “ <i>repago</i> ” (re-pay) imitates a wider social discursive practice that uses this term instead of the more innocent “co-pay” • <i>Weak intertextuality</i> : The term “ <i>rebellion</i> ” (rebellion) appears to allude to 15-M’s original “<i>indígnate</i>” (become outraged) call.			• The text guides the reader toward an understanding of the image of the clenched fist as emblematic of the need for Spaniards to unite to challenge the medical co-pays imposed by the Government.	

The visual dimension of this piece, although minimalistic in graphic design, is rich in meaning and symbolism. In this image, one can appreciate that a raised and clenched fist is denotatively portrayed; this fist, when connotatively “decoded” by a Spaniard, garners multiple

¹⁵¹ Antonio Casado, “Puños en alto,” *La Voz Libre*, published September 10, 2009, http://www.lavozlibre.com/noticias/blog_opiniones/0/8830/punos-en-alto/1.

¹⁵² Jon Kelly, “El simbolismo del puño levantado,” BBC, published April 21, 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/mundo/noticias/2012/04/120417_mano_cerrada_levantada_simbolismo.shtml.

cultural meanings. To begin, the non-verbal gesticulation of a clenched fist serves as a symbol of working-class solidarity in Spain. During Spain's *Guerra Civil* (Civil War), this sign was used as a symbol of unity among farmers and laborers, who participated in the war.¹⁵³ Moreover, this symbol also has considerable historical precedence as a gesture used by leftist political groups within Spain (e.g., socialists, Republicans, and the Popular Front). To illustrate, the Republican Army utilized this gesture as its "*saludo oficial*" (official greeting) and it likewise appears in Republican song lyrics, such as in the song "*En la plaza de mi pueblo*" (*In My Town's Square*)).¹⁵⁴ Aesthetically, the sign (i.e., the raised fist) is accentuated through its centric placement and the use of shadowing and blurring around its perimeter. These two effects aid in drawing the viewer's attention to the sign. With respect to the meme's color composition, gradations of sepia are used to give an aged air to this contemporary meme. Accents of red and yellow-colored text, the same hues of the Spanish flag, are overlaid upon the sepia background, generating an attention-grabbing effect, particularly for a Spanish audience.

The most conspicuous interpictureorial reference in this meme is the clenched fist. This manual sign is present in a significant number of propaganda posters from the Spanish Civil War period and, in many cases, served as their main visual focal point. Interpictureorially, Yayoflautas Córdoba's meme bears a strong resemblance to such political posters, such as a poster published in 1938 for the *Ejército de Levante* (Levantine Army), a resistant sector of Republican forces. This 1938 poster depicts an oversized fist holding a rifle, overlaid upon the Spanish flag and captioned with the following text: "*Pulso de acero en la resistencia y en el contraataque*" (Pulse

¹⁵³ Pau Martínez Muñoz, "Ángel Lescarboura: Del Papel Al Celuloide," in *I Congreso Internacional de Historia Y Cine: 5, 6, 7 Y 8 de Septiembre de 2007*, ed. Gloria Camarero, Vanessa de Cruz, and Beatriz de las Heras (Madrid: Universidad Carlos III de Madrid. Instituto de Cultura y Tecnología, 2008), 424.

¹⁵⁴ Joan Llarch, *Cantos Y Poemas de La Guerra Civil de España*, ed. Joan Llarch, Colección Documento (Barcelona: Producciones Editoriales, 1978), 80; Haim Avni and Raquel Ibáñez-Sperber, *¡No Pasarán!: Las Brigadas Internacionales En La Guerra Civil Española 1936-1939 Y Sus Voluntarios Judíos: Exposición* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003), 8–9.

of steel in resistance and counterattacks).¹⁵⁵ Thus, it would appear that this node of the Yayoflautas has drawn from the symbolically-charged Republican imagery of their youth to design this meme.

With respect to the textual dimension of this meme, instances of both intertextuality proper and weak intertextuality are exhibited. The former claim is substantiated by the Yayoflautas' lexical choice of the term "*repago*" (re-pay) in lieu of "*copago*" (co-pay), in order to critique the 2012 healthcare reforms in Spain.¹⁵⁶ In 2012, in an effort to reduce the budget of Spain's Sistema Nacional de Salud (National Health System) (SNS), the "*Real Decreto Ley 16/2012, de 20 de abril*" (Royal Decree-Law 16/2012, of April 20) was approved with reforms which critically affected "*la universalidad de la atención, su gratuidad y la ordenación y extensión de la cartera de servicios*" (the universality of care, its cost-free status, and the ordering and extent of its service portfolio).¹⁵⁷ The introduction of a co-pay for prescriptions and other medical services rendered was one of such reforms.¹⁵⁸ In Spain, the State-backed term *copago* (co-pay) is often renamed "*co-repago*" (co-repay) or "*repago*" (re-pay) by progressive

¹⁵⁵ V. Martín, *Pulso de acero en la resistencia y en el contraataque*, 1938, photograph, Available from: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, accessed June 8, 2015, <http://pares.mcu.es/cartelesGC/servlets/visorServlet?cartel=438&page=9&from=catalogo>. For a captivating discussion of post-Civil War Spain and Spanish memory since 1939, see Gayle Rogers, *Modernism and the New Spain: Britain, Cosmopolitan Europe, and Literary History*, Modernist Literature & Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁵⁶ Copay, which is also known as "patient cost-sharing" or "out-of-pocket spending by private households," involves an array of economic relationships between service provider and patient, wherein the patient incurs either an increase in cost for services rendered or the introduction of a new cost for services rendered that were not previously charged. Joan Benach, Gemma Tarafa, and Carles Muntaner, "El Copago Sanitario Y La Desigualdad: Ciencia Y Política," *Gaceta Sanitaria* 26, no. 1 (2012): 80, doi:10.1016/j.gaceta.2011.12.001.

¹⁵⁷ In a more general sense, the reforms this decree introduced highlight the general push toward a private healthcare model that Spain's healthcare system has been witnessing since the last decade. It should also be noted that the reforms proposed by this decree were not unilaterally implemented in all of Spain's autonomous communities. Salvador Peiró Moreno, "No Llegar O Pasarse: A Propósito Del Real Decreto-Ley 16/2012," *Formación Médica Continuada En Atención Primaria* 20, no. 8 (2013): 441–442, <https://www.fmc.es/es/pdf/90231019/S300/>; Josefa Cantero Martínez, "Las Políticas Sanitarias de Carácter Regresivo: ¿Qué Niveles de Protección Ofrece Nuestro Ordenamiento Jurídico?," *Derecho Y Salud* 23, no. 2 (2013): 108–110, <http://www.ajs.es/en/revista-derecho-y-salud/las-politicas-sanitarias-de-caracter-regresivo-que-niveles-de-proteccion-ofrece-nuestro-ordenamiento>.

¹⁵⁸ Peiró Moreno, "No Llegar O Pasarse," 441–444.

social movements and political parties, as this new cost is viewed as a “*nuevo impuesto*” (new tax) upon citizens who have already paid for healthcare services through their taxes.¹⁵⁹

It follows that the Yayoflautas’ exclusive use of *repago* serves as an instantiation of intertextuality proper, being that the use of this term engages in an act of “imitation” of a politically-transgressive discursive practice employed by Spanish progressives vis-à-vis the 2012 healthcare *copago* reform. The lexical choice to use *repago* over *copago* on the part of the Yayoflautas articulates how they view the aforementioned reform as unnecessary economic abuse and an additional hardship for ill and aging Spaniards alike. Moreover, it exposes the inequitable cost-“sharing” relationship between the State and Spanish citizens, which *copago* endeavors to conceal.¹⁶⁰

This meme constructs an affect of indignation, in view of the economic inequality created by the aforementioned healthcare reform, through the successive appearance of phrases: “*Hoy REPAGO...*” (Today CO-PAY...), “*Mañana TOPAGO [sic]...*” (Tomorrow I-PAY-EVERYTHING...), culminating into an interpellative call “*REBELIÓN*” (REBELLION). This call likely refers to 15-M’s 2011 *indignate* call (discussed in Chapter 2); this allusion serves as an example of weak intertextuality. Finally, with respect to the visual-textual dimension, the three lines of text in this meme serve to anchor a particular interpretation of this image for the intended audience, everyday Spanish citizens: the image of the clenched fist represents the need

¹⁵⁹ Benach, Tarafa, and Muntaner, “El Copago Sanitario Y La Desigualdad,” 81; Gaspar Llamazares Trigo, “El Copago Es Un Fetiche Que Se Utiliza Por Los Gestores Para Ocultar Los Márgenes de Ineficiencia Del Sistema,” *Salud 2000* 133 (2011): 6, <http://fadsp.org/documents/Salud2000/133/S2mil133-05-07.pdf>; Nieves Hernández Flores and María Elena Gómez Sánchez, “Actividades de Imagen En La Comunicación Mediática de Medidas Políticas Contra La Crisis: El Copago Sanitario,” *Revista de Filología de La Universidad de La Laguna* 32 (2014): 140, <http://publica.webs.ull.es/publicaciones/volumen/revista-de-filologia-volumen-32-2014/>; Pablo Acosta Gallo, “Restricciones de Gasto, Gestión Privada Y Copago En El Servicio Público de Salud,” *Revista CESCO de Derecho de Consumo* 4 (2012): 72, <https://cesco.revista.uclm.es/index.php/cesco/article/view/137/118>.

¹⁶⁰ *Copago* effectively creates an artificial economic equality between service provider and citizen, as it insinuates that both parties are sharing a cost and equally contributing to share the financial burden. Conversely, *repago* showcases an inequality that the former term masks, being that in the case of the neologism *repago*, there is an inherent understanding that one payment has already been made.

for citizens to unite to challenge the State's imposition of a co-pay (or *repago*), much like the way progressive Spaniards united to fight against Francoist forces to preserve the Second Spanish Republic during the Spanish Civil war.

In this protest meme, the Yayoflautas express their *malestar económico* concerning the 2012 *copago* through their re-articulation of Spanish socio-political power dynamics. The Yayoflautas achieve this re-articulation, in part, through *destabilizing* the uniaccentual meaning of the Spanish flag, a typically State-controlled symbol. Generally, the colors of the Spanish flag, red and yellow, evoke feelings of pride and unity among Spaniards when used in conventional contexts. However, in the case of this meme, these patriotic feelings are starkly juxtaposed against Spain's socio-economic reality (e.g., austerity-related healthcare reforms), thereby transforming these positive feelings into discontent. This elicited discontent fuels the present meme's call for a "rebellion" on the part of the citizenry, in order to strike down this reform. Thus, in this meme, the symbol of the Spanish flag is employed to both provoke discontent and civic action among Spanish citizens and to indirectly interrogate the integrity and priorities of the Spanish nation, in light of the State's management of healthcare.

On an ideological level, one can appreciate that this meme skillfully constructs a subversive discourse through the *interaction* of its visual and textual signs, which complement and contribute to one another's meaning, to construct the Yayoflaotas' counterhegemonic discourse. On the textual side of this interaction, as established earlier, the text that appears in this meme subverts dominant ideological healthcare discourse, through the lexical choice of referring to the *copago* as a *repago*, thereby underscoring the unequal economic reality of this reform. On the other hand, the visual part of this interaction (i.e., the use of the colors of the Spanish flag and the Republican fist) supports and further consolidates the anti-establishment

tone of this protest meme. In brief, the Yayoflautas' meme depicts a power re-articulation that confers the necessary agency and socio-political power to the *people*, in order to unite forces and begin to transform Spain. The meme that follows, by PACD, also depicts the Spanish people (re)gaining power to confront the economic practices of the Spanish State.

4.1.9 Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda (PACD)



Figure 17. PACD Zaragoza (January 29, 2013).¹⁶¹

Translation Key
<p><i>deuda ilegítima</i> illegitimate debt</p> <p><i>ayuntamiento de Zaragoza</i> city council of Zaragoza</p> <p><i>¡No debemos, No Pagamos!</i> We do not owe, we do not pay!</p>

¹⁶¹ AuditoríaZaragoza, Twitter post, January 29, 2013, 4:27 p.m., <https://twitter.com/nodebemosZGZ/status/296414366121742336/photo/1>.

<http://nodebemoszaragoza.wordpress.com>
[http://\[we don't owe zaragoza\].wordpress.com](http://[we don't owe zaragoza].wordpress.com)

On January 29, 2013 the Zaragoza node of PACD published the protest meme shown above (Figure 17) on its Twitter account, called “*AuditoríaZaragoza*” (ZaragozaAudit).¹⁶² The image, when read from left to right, shows a male silhouette firmly extending his left arm, while holding a semi automatic firearm. This weapon, however, appears to be loaded with PACD’s slogan “*¡No debemos, No Pagamos!*” (We do not owe, we do not pay!) rather than bullets. On the right-hand side of the image, superimposed upon what appears to be a splattering of blood, the following words can be read: “*deuda ilegítima / ayuntamiento de Zaragoza*” (illegitimate debt / city council of Zaragoza). The adjective “*ilegítima*” (illegitimate) is noticeably stressed through bolding and a large font size. Below this text, located directly in the line-of-fire of the gun, an almost homogenous-looking group of men can be seen displaying badges that contain the logos of various political parties in Spain. This image contains a high color contrast and makes particular use of perspective and image placement. In the table that follows, the visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of this protest meme will be explored and then the most salient characteristics will be interpreted.

¹⁶² AuditoríaZaragoza, Twitter post.

Table 5. Semiotic-Textual Analysis: PACD Zaragoza

Visual	Denotation	Connotation
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A faceless person aiming a firearm at a crowd of suited, sunglass-wearing men. 	<p>1. <i>Cultural/Associative:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The person pointing the gun appears to be faceless. In Spanish culture, the absence of a face communicates a lack of identity and subjectivity, allowing one to imagine him or herself as the figure.¹⁶³ • The suited men are wearing sunglasses, connoting a nonchalant, unperturbed attitude.¹⁶⁴ • Firearms, in Spanish culture, are largely symbolic of power (<i>though not necessarily violence</i>) and may also be viewed as a power equalizer for marginalized social groups.¹⁶⁵ <p>2. <i>Aesthetic:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of white, black, and red for high color contrast • Perspective is used to make citizen auditor larger in size than politicians, creating a difference in power • Politicians' facial features are "blurred," showing literally their implied resemblance • Use of bolding for increased emphasis
	Interpictoriality	

¹⁶³ Israel Roncero, "La Rostrificación Del Cuerpo Abyecto En El Entorno de Las Redes Sociales," *Caracteres: Estudios Culturales Y Críticos de La Esfera Digital* 1, no. 1 (2012): 87, <http://revistacaracteres.net/revista/vol1n1mayo2012/la-rostrificacion-del-cuerpo-abyecto-en-el-entorno-de-las-redes-sociales/>; Alberto Santamaría, "Pensamientos para entrar en 'Compañeros de viaje' de Roberto Orallo," Roberto Orallo, published January 13, 2012, http://www.robertoorallo.com/archivos/documentos_contenidos/279_2.catalogo.pdf.

¹⁶⁴ Vanessa Gill-Brown, *Cool Shades: The History and Meaning of Sunglasses* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 11–12.

¹⁶⁵ Juanjo Moreno, "Arte del calibre 22," *Yorokobu*, July/August 2010, 16; Javier Gómez Calvo, "Historia de Galarreta: De La Dictadura de Primo de Rivera a La Guerra Civil (1923-1939)," *Sancho El Sabio: Revista de Cultura E Investigación Vasca* 27 (2007): 108, http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/dcfichero_articulo?codigo=2486978; Udo Becker, *Enciclopedia de Los Símbolos*, trans. José Antonio Bravo, Swing Extra (Barcelona: SWING, 2008), 43; José Manuel Vázquez Varela, "Funciones Y Significados de Los Grabados Rupestres de Armas Prehistóricas de A Pedra Ancha (Dumbría, Coruña)," *Semata: Ciencias Sociais E Humanidades* 19 (2007): 19, http://dspace.usc.es/bitstream/10347/4538/1/pg_015-020_semata19.pdf; Magí Crusells, "Libertarias: La Utopía Durante La Guerra Civil Española No Fue Solo Cosa de Hombres," *Filmhistoria Online* 3 (1996): 296, <http://www.raco.cat/index.php/FilmhistoriaOnline/article/view/226277/307851>.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In the pins worn by the group of suited men, the logos of the following Spanish political parties can be seen: Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Izquierda Unida, Chunta Aragonesista, Partido Popular, and Partido Aragonés.¹⁶⁶ • The image of the individual pointing a gun adorned with a symbolic message in its barrel bears a strong resemblance to the Portuguese Carnation Revolution (<i>Revolução dos Cravos</i>).¹⁶⁷ • The meme's overall design recalls the opening title sequence of <i>Dr. No</i>, as well as the promotional materials for the film <i>Reservoir Dogs</i>. 		
Textual	Intertextuality	Visual - Textual	Anchorage
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intertextuality (proper): The phrase “<i>¡No debemos, No Pagamos!</i>” (We do not owe, we do not pay!) is a PACD slogan quoted in the text. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The text orients the viewer toward an understanding that the politicians on the right-hand side of the image, regardless of party lines, are equally responsible for the creation of “illegitimate debt” and citizens should contest the validity of this debt.

The visual dimension of PACD's meme paints an unsettling picture at first sight. On a denotative level, a faceless person is positioned with his or her body directly facing the viewer's gaze, left arm outstretched and aiming a firearm at a group of suited men. These suited men are devoid of facial features, save for black sunglasses and, at times, facial hair. This audacious scene would likely receive various specific connotative interpretations by a Spanish audience. Beginning with the faceless individual holding the firearm, this individual would likely be viewed as lacking an identity and subjectively, as a result of an absence of facial features.¹⁶⁸ Moreover, the armed person's lack of facial features also presents the potential for the intended audience of this meme to place themselves in this role, thereby becoming more actively involved in PACD's discourse through “participating” in its visual symbolic construction. In addition, of

¹⁶⁶ In English, the parties' names are: Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party – liberal), Izquierda Unida (United Left – liberal), Chunta Aragonesista (Aragonese Union – liberal), Partido Popular (People's Party – conservative), and Partido Aragonés (Aragonese Party – conservative).

¹⁶⁷ Laurence de Looze, “The Piano Is Always There: A Story of Lisbon,” *New England Review* 35, no. 4 (2015): 196–197, doi:10.1353/ner.2015.0014; Ana Margarida Ramos, “Recent Portuguese Children's Literature: From Dictatorship to Freedom,” *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature* 48, no. 4 (2010): 30, 33, doi:10.1353/bkb.2010.0012; Elísio Estanque, “The Reinvention of Trade Unionism and the New Challenges of Emancipation: From Local Despotism to Global Mobilization”(unpublished manuscript, accessed March 11, 2015), 10, Portable Document Format file.

¹⁶⁸ Santamaría, “Pensamientos para entrar”; Roncero, “La Rostrificación Del Cuerpo,” 87.

all of the actors present in this scene, the featureless figure is symbolically constructed as the most powerful person in the image, by virtue of the individual's possession of a firearm, which in Spanish culture confers power to its possessor.¹⁶⁹

Aesthetically, this meme's use of perspective portrays the PACD gun-bearing individual as large in size and height, in so doing, dwarfing the approaching group of politicians. Further, these politicians' faces are noticeably "blurred," rendering them practically indistinguishable from one another in terms of their physical appearance, an aesthetic decision that suggests that, despite their differing party affiliations, there exists little difference between these Spanish politicians. Moreover, the use of a crimson splattering of what appears to be blood, displayed behind the politicians, functions as a veiled threat and re-assertion of who has the ultimate authority in this scene: PACD, and more generally, the citizens of Spain.

In view of the many signs of violence present in this meme, one particular question lingers in the mind of the viewer with regard to the message of this meme: whether PACD is advocating for violence against politicians as a means to stop the "*deuda ilegítima*" (illegitimate debt) these leaders are implied to have created. An answer to this question can be found in one of the inter pictorial references of this meme: that of the Portuguese Carnation Revolution. During this event, soldiers of the *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (MFA) (Armed Forces Movement) acquired red carnations and placed them into the barrels of their weapons as a sign of non-violent opposition to the *Estado Novo* regime.¹⁷⁰ In the case of this meme, the gun-wielding individual points a gun that has a banner sticking out of it, which similarly evokes the non-violent

¹⁶⁹ Moreno, "Arte del calibre 22"; Gómez Calvo, "Historia de Galarreta," 108; Vázquez Varela, "Funciones Y Significados," 19.

¹⁷⁰ de Looze, "Piano Is Always There," 196; Pedro Antonio Navarro, "Lo Que Queda de La Revolución de Los Claveles," *El Siglo de Europa* (Madrid, April 2014), 33, <http://www.elsiglodeeuropa.es/siglo/historico/2014/1060/1060Dossier.pdf>; "25 de Abril – 30 anos, 30 factos," Instituto Camões, last modified February 6, 2010, <http://www1.uni-hamburg.de/clpic/tematicos/25abril.html>.

revolutionary actions of the Portuguese during the Carnation Revolution. In both contexts, symbols of power (e.g., firearms) experience a connotative resignification, in which they are transformed from instruments of violence to symbols of pacific resistance. Moreover, both instances represent citizens acting against what they view as an unjust and opaque State.¹⁷¹

In terms of the meme's textual dimension, the peaceful intent of PACD's discourse is further exemplified by an observed instantiation of intertextuality proper, in which the banner that emerges from the firearm in the image displays the text "*¡No debemos, No Pagamos!*," (We do not owe, we do not pay!) a widely-circulated PACD slogan. This intertextual reference creates a form of *intra-textuality within* the image that helps to frame the viewer's interpretation of the other text that appears in this meme (e.g., illegitimate debt, city council of Zaragoza). With respect to the visual-textual dimension, the aforementioned phrases, in addition to the other text present in this meme work together to produce an anchorage that orients the intended audience — national and regional politicians and citizens from Aragón — toward an understanding that the politicians depicted in this meme generated Spain's illegitimate debt and citizens should question its legitimacy. The phrase "*No debemos*" (*We* do not owe) particularly illustrates PACD's suggestion that the real debt "creators" in the image are the politicians, not everyday Spanish citizens.

PACD manifests *malestar económico* through its meme's overt opposition to the State-created "public" debt, resulting from the conversion of the private debt of Spanish banks and large businesses into public debt, among other related political and economic decisions.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Ozan O. Varol, "The Democratic Coup d'État," *Harvard International Law Journal* 53, no. 2 (2012): 333–335, <http://www.harvardilj.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/05/HLI203.pdf>.

¹⁷² Javier López Prol, "Crisis de Deuda Pública Del Estado Español Y La Unión Europea: ¿Causa O Consecuencia?," *Papeles de Europa* 26, no. 2 (2013): 101, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/PADE/article/view/44185/41763>; Amaia Pérez Orozco, "Crisis Multidimensional Y Sostenibilidad de La Vida," *Investigaciones Feministas* 2 (2011): 35, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/INFE/article/view/38603/37328>.

PACD's disapproval is voiced through its *destabilization* of the State-constructed uniaccentual meaning of the sign of "*deuda*" (debt). The sign of debt is treated by the Spanish State as a situation that has unfolded for multiple reasons, whose creator(s) are not clear or relevant. As such, Official discourse suggests that the debt is a problem that *we all* must fix together (e.g., citizens will have to endure austerity measures, in order to rectify the nation's debt). In essence, the State's financial accountability disappears in its uniaccentual representation of debt. The State-backed meaning of debt is challenged by PACD's evocation of a transgressive understanding of this multiaccentual sign, one in which debt is understood as the responsibility of the entity or individual who has acted irresponsibly in economic terms.

On an ideological level, this meme depicts a renegotiation of power through PACD's subversive re-framing of Spain's debt. This is achieved by PACD's direct confrontation with the individuals the group considers to be the *enablers* of Spain's public debt: the politicians. Although this confrontation appears to be violent in nature, the main symbol of violence present in this meme (i.e., a gun) is mitigated, through its re-signification from a tool of violence to a tool of justice, holding a sign rather than bullets and representing a citizens' audit. As such, PACD creates a counter-hegemonic power dynamic, in which the faceless silhouette is empowered to take action against the State's actions, thereby illustrating a situational power disparity between the State and Spanish citizens that acts in PACD's favor. In brief, in this meme PACD questions the Spanish government's administration of Spain's debt and re-casts the role of citizens from economically irresponsible culprits to empowered and informed victims. Much like PACD's meme, the final meme of this corpus, by ATD, also criticizes the State's economic decisions, within the context of Spain's budget cuts in education.

4.1.10 Ahora, Tú Decides (ATD)



Figure 18. ATD (June 4, 2013).¹⁷³

Translation Key
<i>Recortes en educación</i> Cuts in education
<i>así tendrán que sufrirlo los niños</i> this is what children will have to go through
<i>¿Esto es lo que quieres para ellos?</i> Is this what you want for them?
<i>ahoratudecides.es</i> [now you decide].es
(Watermark in image) <i>desmotivar.com</i> [demotivate].com

¹⁷³ Ahora, Tú Decides, Facebook page, accessed March 20, 2015, <https://www.facebook.com/AhoraTuDecides/photos/pb.635965496418948.-2207520000.1420324085./663242883691209/?type=3&theater>.

The visual protest meme presented above (Figure 18) was published on June 4, 2013, on the Facebook page of Ahora, Tú Decides.¹⁷⁴ In this meme, when read from top to bottom, one can observe an image of a cohort of students sitting on stacked desks in a crowded classroom; the students present in this particular image are characters from the American animated television series *The Simpsons*. Below the image that depicts this classroom scene, the text reads: “*RECORTES EN EDUCACIÓN / así tendrán que sufrirlo los niños / ¿Esto es lo que quieres para ellos?*” (CUTS IN EDUCATION / this is what children will have to go through / Is this what you want for them?). This cautionary text is followed by the uniform resource locator (URL) to Ahora, Tú Decides’s website: “*ahoratudecides.es*” ([now you decide].es). Apart from the image used in the upper half of the meme, this composition exclusively uses shades of black and white to maximize its color contrast. In the sections that ensue, the visual, textual, and visual-textual characteristics of this protest meme will be analyzed in an organized table and, subsequently, the most remarkable characteristics will be interpreted.

¹⁷⁴ Ahora, Tú Decides, Facebook page.

Table 6. Semiotic-Textual Analysis: Ahora, Tú Decides

Visual	Denotation		Connotation	
	• A cohort of young students sitting attentively in a crowded classroom		1. <i>Cultural/Associative</i> : <ul style="list-style-type: none">• As in most Western cultures, in Spanish culture, children are often viewed as “innocent” and “vulnerable”¹⁷⁵• A crowded classroom, for many Spanish adults, is associated with their education during the Francoist dictatorship, when classes were often overfilled.¹⁷⁶	
			2. <i>Aesthetic</i> : <ul style="list-style-type: none">• White text against black background increases stimulating effect of text through contrast• Black and white frame around image serves to highlight it• Placement of color image against black and white maximizes contrast value• Use of uppercase letters for emphasis	
			Interpictoriality	
• The image used in this meme originates from the “ Lisa’s Wedding ” episode of <i>The Simpsons</i>				
Textual	Intertextuality		Visual -Textual	Anchorage
	(No cases of intertextuality found)			• The accompanying text directs the viewer toward the understanding that the image of students in an overcrowded classroom functions as a future prediction of the educational environment of present and future generations, if the audience does not take action against the State’s proposed budgetary cuts in education.

¹⁷⁵ Ana María Vigar Tauste and José García Martínez-Calín, “Sexo, Política Y Subversión: El Chiste Popular En La Época Franquista,” *Círculo de Lingüística Aplicada a La Comunicación* 27 (2006): 11, <https://pendientedemigracion.ucm.es/info/circulo/no27/vigara.pdf>; Ana María Badanelli Rubio, “Ser Español En Imágenes: La Construcción de La Identidad Nacional a Través de Las Ilustraciones de Los Textos Escolares (1940-1960),” *Historia de La Educación* 27 (2008): 139, 163, http://campus.usal.es/~revistas_trabajo/index.php/0212-0267/article/viewFile/1606/1670; Juan Delval, “Aspectos de La Construcción Del Conocimiento Sobre La Sociedad,” *Revista de Investigación En Psicología* 10, no. 1 (2007): 34, http://sisbib.unmsm.edu.pe/bvrevistas/investigacion_psicologia/v10_n1/pdf/a02.pdf; Pedro Gómez Damborenea, “Perder la inocencia,” *Eldiario.es*, published February 10, 2015, http://www.eldiario.es/norte/elblogdepgd/Perder-inocencia_6_355274518.html.

¹⁷⁶ “Cuatro Mil Niños Sin Escuela En Puertollano,” *Le Socialiste*, July 8, 1965; Pedro Luis Angosto, “Neutros, tibios y equidistantes,” *Nuevatribuna.es*, published May 23, 2010, <http://www.nuevatribuna.es/opinion/pedro-luis-angosto/neutros-tibios-y-equidistantes/2010110413542140737.html>; Manuel Rodríguez García, ““70 Años de Vida Veterinaria”” (lecture, Academia de Ciencias Veterinarias de Castilla y León, León, April 25, 2013).

The visual dimension of this meme denotatively portrays a cohort of primary school-aged children sitting in an overcrowded classroom. These two descriptive features (i.e., young children and overcrowded classrooms) assume particular cultural connotative meanings in the Spanish interpretive context. To begin, for a number of Spaniards, the image of an overcrowded classroom likely evokes the memory of the overfilled classrooms experienced first-hand by several generations of Spaniards during Francoist Spain (i.e., 1939-1975), in both primary and higher education.¹⁷⁷ This overcrowding arose from an inadequate amount of educational infrastructure for Spain's then growing population.¹⁷⁸ This severe pedagogical problem becomes evident when one considers the figures of the time: in 1960, 47 percent of Spain's primary schools were instructed by a single teacher and from 1964 to 1968 the Spanish Government estimates that the country's educational infrastructure was unable to accommodate nearly one million primary school-aged students.¹⁷⁹ These spatial limitations often led to situations of overcrowding and instructors being pressured to increase their class sizes.¹⁸⁰ In a sense, the cartoon children depicted in the overfilled classroom in ATD's meme serve as a symbolic "prediction" for present and future Spanish generations, who are at risk of reliving the

¹⁷⁷ Morris Aaron Horowitz, *Manpower and Education in Franco Spain* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1974), 195; Carolina Rodríguez López, *La Universidad de Madrid En El Primer Franquismo: Ruptura Y Continuidad (1939-1951)*, Biblioteca Del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija de Estudios Sobre La Universidad, 6 (Madrid: Editorial Dykinson, 2002), 265; Robert P. Clark, *The Basques, the Franco Years and Beyond*, Basque Series (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1979), 242.

¹⁷⁸ Rodríguez López, *La Universidad de Madrid*, 265; Hilario Dorao, "Vitoria Y La Enseñanza," *Ispar*, 1971, 12, https://ddd.uab.cat/pub/ppc/ispar/ispar_a1971m12n7.pdf; Aitziber Salinas Elozegi, Pedro Viteri Arana, and Juan Aguirre Sorondo, *Urnietako Irakaskuntzaren Historia Laburra: Pedro Viteri Aranaren Mendeurrenean = Breve Historia de La Enseñanza En Urnieta: En El Centenario de Pedro Viteri Arana*, Colección Lankidetzan (San Sebastián: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 2007), 161–162.

¹⁷⁹ Antonio Viñao Frago, "Escolarización, Edificios Y Espacios Escolares," *Participación Educativa* 7 (2008): 21, <http://www.mecd.gob.es/revista-cee/pdf/n7-vinao-frago.pdf>; Manuel de Puellas Benítez, "Las Grandes Leyes Educativas de Los Últimos Doscientos Años," *Participación Educativa* 7 (2008): 13–14, <https://sede.educacion.gob.es/publiventa/detalle.action?cod=14200>.

¹⁸⁰ Esteban S. Barcia, "El Conflicto Entre El Derecho Y La Obligación de Estudiar," *El País*, February 21, 1995; Raúl Aguilar Cestero, "El Despliegue de La Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona Entre 1968 Y 1973: De Fundación Franquista a Motor Del Cambio Democrático En Cataluña," *Cuadernos Del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija* 10 (2007): 50–51, <http://e-archivo.uc3m.es/handle/10016/11134#preview>.

educational experiences of prior generations. However, unlike the generations of the dictatorship, who experienced crowded classroom conditions because of a lack of infrastructure, the children in ATD's meme confront the State's proposed budget cuts to education.

Moreover, children, who are often viewed as innocent and vulnerable beings in Spanish society, serve as the visual focal point of this meme. With this in mind, the present use of children may be viewed as an attempt to evoke sympathy from the intended audience and impress upon them the urgency of ATD's message in this meme. This appeal to audience members' emotions is accomplished, in part, through the aesthetic presentation of the children: they are shown in a cramped and uncomfortable environment, which is highlighted by the black and white frame that encompasses the image. Furthermore, the overall color contrast of this meme brings greater focus to the children, by virtue of the use of largely chromatic colors in the image, juxtaposed against the achromatic colors of the background.

The image used in this meme is an interpicture figure taken from an episode of the American television show *The Simpsons*, entitled "Lisa's Wedding."¹⁸¹ In Spain, *The Simpsons* has a large and loyal fan base and, as such, the inclusion of what would be commonly categorized as an American animated series also poses its own unique meaning, associations, and salience in the Spanish context.¹⁸² In this particular episode, Lisa Simpson is read her future by a fortuneteller via tarot cards; after Lisa is told her future, she is transported thereto. After arriving to the future, Lisa sees the elementary school from which she had presumably graduated,

¹⁸¹ Chris Turner, *Planet Simpson: How a Cartoon Masterpiece Defined a Generation* (Cambridge: Da Capo Press, 2004), 60.

¹⁸² Ana Almansa Martínez, "Consumo de Televisión Entre Los Jóvenes Universitarios," *Comunicar* 25 (2005), <http://www.revistacomunicar.com/verpdf.php?numero=25&articulo=25-2005-068>; Erika Fernández Gómez and Jesús Díaz-Campo, "Los Canales Temáticos Infantiles Y Juveniles En Facebook: Análisis de Los Perfiles de Disney Channel, Boing Y Neox," *Comunicación Y Hombre* 10 (2014): 180, <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=129432541005>; María Teresa Téramo, "Modas Adolescentes Y Medios de Comunicación Como Agentes Socializadores," *Comunicar* 27 (2006): 88, <http://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=15802713>.

Springfield Elementary School. The school has in many ways fallen apart, showing multiple signs of age and disrepair (e.g., graffiti on school lockers, broken windows, and dripping plumbing). The school's deterioration in quality is also reflected in its learning environment, where students are seen in an overcrowded classroom, with desks stacked three levels high (see Figure 18).¹⁸³ Moreover, the decline in educational standards is additionally reflected by the fact that students are instructed by a TV monitor — rather than a teacher — and display a lack of educational aptitude when asked questions (e.g., the virtual instructor asks the class “If you have three Pepsis and drink one, how much more refreshed are you?” to which a student responds, “Pepsi”).¹⁸⁴

In light of the aforementioned, one can appreciate how this interpictureorial figure functions in ATD's meme to further stress the importance of halting the “*RECORTES EN EDUCACIÓN*” (CUTS IN EDUCATION), a point that is further stressed by the surrounding lines of text included in the image. Despite this meme's multiple lines of text, no evident intertextual references are present in its textual dimension. Notwithstanding, it should be noted that two words that appear in this discourse aid in directing the audience's attention toward the interpictureorial figure in this artifact, owing to their inherent “place deictic” quality.¹⁸⁵ Place deictic expressions are a category of “demonstratives” (e.g., here, there, this, that) that “focus the interlocutors' attention on concrete entities in the surrounding situation.”¹⁸⁶

In the case of this meme, the Spanish terms “*esto*” (this) and “*así*” (like this), in their respective lines of text, (i.e., “*así tendrán que sufrirlo los niños*” and “*¿Esto es lo que quieres*

¹⁸³ Turner, *Planet Simpson*, 60.

¹⁸⁴ Turner, *Planet Simpson*, 60.

¹⁸⁵ Jena Holger Diessel, “Deixis and Demonstratives,” in *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, ed. Claudia Maienborn, Klaus von Stechow, and Paul Portner, vol. 3, Handbücher Zur Sprach- Und Kommunikationswissenschaft (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 2414, 2417.

¹⁸⁶ Holger Diessel, “Deixis and Demonstratives,” 2417.

para ellos?”) re-direct the attention of the intended audience back to image with increasing intensity and through consecutive repetition.¹⁸⁷ These two place deictic terms help to articulate the *leitmotif* of this meme (i.e., the victimization of children by the State) and also contribute to the overall construction of anchorage in the visual-textual dimension of this artifact. The text used in this meme, primarily the term “*RECORTES*” and the two place deictic terms “*esto*” (this) and “*así*” (like that), creates a cause and effect narrative, respectively, that anchors the following meaning to the image: the still of the *The Simpsons* could be the future classroom environment of Spanish children if the intended audience, everyday Spanish citizens, remains silent and does not challenge the education-aimed *recortes*.

In this artifact, ATD expresses its *malestar económico* concerning the State’s proposed cuts in education through its invocation of a subversive meaning of the multi-accentual sign of *recortes* (cuts). The State-approved uniaccentual meaning of this sign is one of economically responsible choices intended for the wellbeing of the nation and its citizens. On the other hand, ATD’s meaning of this sign is one which re-frames this austerity action from a fiscally responsible measure to a policy that is detrimental to children. In addition, the observed *destabilization* of *recortes* contributes to ATD’s overall re-negotiation of political power dynamics, challenging who is in control of this sign and its morality. Moreover, ATD claims further power in this meme through including the name of the group, Ahora, Tú Decides, at the bottom of the image. This compositional decision, apart from specifying the meme’s author, discursively confers the power to change Spanish children’s educational outlook to the Spanish citizens who view this meme. This meme also indirectly provides an avenue to challenge these proposed cuts in education: participation through this platform. In short, ATD’s meme voices a

¹⁸⁷ Holger Diessel, “Deixis and Demonstratives,” 2414.

counter-hegemonic discourse that re-articulates the power dynamics between the Spanish State and citizens, by assigning the ultimate control in matters concerning economic policy to the hands of citizens, in lieu of the State. The following section will compare the artifact analyses completed in this chapter.

4.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: 15-M AND THE FOLLOW-ON GROUPS

This chapter identified a number of features that typify 15-M's visual expression and articulation of *malestar económico*. It was observed that 15-M selected signs from the dominant ideological system and *destabilized* their meanings, replacing these meanings with subversive meanings (e.g., Acampada de Barcelona's portrayal of *recortes*). Second, it was noted that 15-M's memes utilized iconic inter pictorial figures of particular symbolic resonance for a European audience (e.g., Captain Euro, the guillotine) in the construction of its discourse. Third, it was found that 15-M's memes articulated a re-negotiation and re-distribution of power and agency from those "in power" to everyday Spanish citizens. Finally, it was determined that 15-M's memes both utilize the visual dimension to invoke memory or imagery of the past, while using the textual dimension to refer to the present (e.g., a guillotine juxtaposed against budgetary cuts). Together, these two dimensions work to articulate a mixed-temporality, which creates a re-contextualized space for the interpretation of 15-M's general discourse.

Upon comparing the follow-on groups' overall visual expression of *malestar económico* with that of 15-M, both similarities and subtle differences are observed. Nonetheless, this study has determined that all four follow-on groups transmitted and replicated the four memetic characteristics established above of 15-M's expression of *malestar económico*. The following

section explores the most complex and intriguing memetic similarity replicated in all four follow-on groups' visual protest memes: the construction of a mixed-temporality. Subsequently, three memetic "mutations" (or differences) between 15-M and the follow-on groups' expression of *malestar económico* will be discussed.

The mixed-temporality constructed by 15-M and the follow-on groups in their protest memes serves as a striking instance of intentional convergence. From a memetic perspective, this characteristic may be understood as a *memetic micro-maneuver*, which in confluence with other *memetic micro-maneuvers*, creates a larger discourse in each meme.¹⁸⁸ In this study, each group employed the *memetic micro-maneuver* of mixed-temporality using three dimensions. In the visual dimension, the groups presented images of the past that evoke collective memory (i.e., 15-M's Captain Euro and guillotine, the Marea Blanca's "shushing nurse," the Yayoflautas' Republican fist, PACD's Carnation Revolution, and ATD's Francoist classrooms). This visual dimension is juxtaposed by the groups with the contemporary Spanish reality through the memes' textual dimension (i.e., 15-M's allusions to the capitalist model and *recortes*, the Marea Blanca's reference to healthcare privatization, the Yayoflautas' claims regarding the healthcare *repago*, PACD's critique of Spanish debt, and ATD's protest against *recortes* in education). Finally, in the visual-textual dimension, these two dimensions worked in tandem to express a discourse of *malestar económico*.

In the case of the follow-on groups' replication of *malestar económico*, a slight mutation was observed in the visual and textual dimensions of the examined memes, relating to their

¹⁸⁸ The term "micro-maneuvers" appears in a non-memetic context, in the work of Australian linguist Peter White, wherein it is given the following definition: "it becomes possible to analyze a text's construction of its intended or imagined readership as a set of micro-maneuvers by which different alignments or affiliations are envisaged with an array of different value positions." Peter Robert White, "Beyond Modality and Hedging: A Dialogic View of the Language of Intersubjective Stance," *Text & Talk* 23, no. 2 (2003): 275, doi:10.1515/text.2003.011.

geographic scope and level of precision. In geographic terms, unlike 15-M's visual dimension, which evoked a broad collective European memory and discourse, the follow-on groups demonstrated a more Iberian-centered memory and discourse in their memes (e.g., the Yayoflaudas' Republican fist). A possible explanation for this memetic mutation could be that, while 15-M is a relatively international protest group in terms of its geographic footprint and membership, the follow-on groups have yet to develop the same degree of internationalization. Moreover, the follow-on groups' use of more geographically-specific signs could also be viewed as an attempt to increase the transmission rate of their respective memes among their intended audience, primarily Spaniards. The subsequent two memetic mutations to be addressed in this comparison also involve, to some degree, differences in scope and precision.

The follow-on groups' second "mutation" pertains to the specificity of their motive for expressing *malestar económico*. In 15-M's expression of *malestar económico*, it was observed that matters which engender *malestar económico* tended to be more general (i.e., non-specific *recortes* and capitalism). In contrast, the follow-on groups' expression of this meme was typically more issue-focused (e.g., a Government-mandated medical copay and budget cuts in education). This difference may be the result of a strategic geo-political focus on the part of the follow-on groups, a decision that is coherent with their establishment of location-specific nodes. Moreover, it is also possible that through citing concrete issues that inspire their *malestar económico*, the follow-on groups endeavor to avoid being labeled as "vague," "having no objectives," or "lacking direction," as 15-M had during its early stages of development.

The follow-on groups' third noteworthy "mutation" relates to how they present a means to address their respective causes of *malestar económico*. Although 15-M and the follow-on groups both directly or indirectly invite citizens to take action against the State and/or State

policies in their respective memes, the specific form of citizen participation solicited demonstrates notable variance. In 15-M's memes, a "non-affiliated" form activism is encouraged, one which does not forcibly tie citizens to 15-M as a means to address their *malestar económico*. To illustrate, the "Huelga General del 29-M" (29-M Labor and Consumer Strike) advertised in the Asamblea Popular de Alcalá de Henares' meme is an event for which 15-M is but one of many organizers. Accordingly, one can appreciate that, for 15-M, activism does not necessarily require direct affiliation with 15-M. In the case of the follow-on groups, only the Yayoflautas replicated 15-M's message of non-affiliated activism, in their call for a "rebelión" (rebellion) against the healthcare copay. One possible explanation for the Yayoflautas' close replication of 15-M's understanding of how *malestar económico* should be addressed could stem from their similar functioning as a *protest auxiliary group*. Both the Yayoflautas and 15-M have been known to function as auxiliary groups in other groups' protest efforts and, consequently, both likely view civic activism as an action which should be encouraged, regardless of the platform through which it is channeled. In contrast, the remaining three follow-on group memes, by the Marea Blanca, PACD, and ATD, present a means to address *malestar económico* that is directly tied to a model of affiliated activism in their own respective groups (i.e., Marea Blanca's *charla*, PACD's debt audit, and ATD's online *consulta*). This particular memetic mutation appears to have occurred as a result of a difference in group values and organization.

4.3 CONCLUSION

This chapter has proposed a semiotic-textual framework to analyze a selection of protest memes from 15-M and the follow-on groups. This interdisciplinary analytic approach has integrated theories from the fields of semiotics, art history, and literary theory, in order to establish a comprehensive and robust means through which to examine the visual, textual, and visual-textual dimensions of these protest images. Through exploring this third dimension, this work has contributed to the limited body of language and semiotic studies that consider the visual-textual dimension when interpreting images and how they create meaning. Moreover, this study's application of the concepts of intertextuality and interpictoriality as a mode to examine the presence of memes *within* other memes, offers great promise to the field of memetics, wherein such a phenomenon does not yet have a formal and systematic means of analysis.

In this chapter, the semiotic-textual framework utilized has proven useful in illustrating the complex socio-cultural meanings behind various symbols, the salient effects of a variety of compositional and aesthetic features, and how 15-M and the follow-on groups reconfigure power dynamics in their protest memes and express *malestar económico*. Furthermore, this chapter has demonstrated how the visual production of 15-M and the follow-on groups is rich in culturally and historically-coded meaning that uniquely shapes and shades each group's visual discourse. In what follows, the primary findings and conclusions of this chapter will be presented and discussed.

The present chapter found that 15-M's meme of *malestar económico* can be characterized by four key features: (1) the destabilization of a sign's dominant meaning and subsequent replacement with a subversive meaning, (2) the use of iconic interpictorial references that have particular meaning to a European audience, (3) the re-negotiation and redistribution of power

from traditional power structures (e.g., the State and the European Union) to everyday Spanish citizens, and (4) the construction of a mix-temporality, in which a meme's visual dimension evokes the past, while its textual dimension involves the present. It was determined that 15-M's meme of *malestar económico*, as defined by the abovementioned characteristics, was successfully transmitted and replicated by the four follow-on groups, with only minimal levels of variance. Three primary differences, or mutations, were identified in the follow-on groups' memetic replication of *malestar económico*, that relate to: their geographic scope and level of precision, the specificity of their motives for expressing *malestar económico*, and their suggested strategy to combat the cause of their respective *malestar económico*.

When compared to the other forms of expression utilized by 15-M (e.g., space and written text), the visual format, in the form of a visual protest meme, exhibited the strongest memetic transmission rate among the four follow-on groups. Moreover, in general terms, 15-M and the follow-on groups acquired a more assertive voice and register in their visual discourse, compared to their textual and spatial forms of communication. The more forceful, attention-grabbing tone expressed in the visual discourse of 15-M and the follow-on groups may have served as a means to counteract the “sedimented indifference constructed by [the media]” (*la sedimentada indiferencia que construye[n] [los medios]*).¹⁸⁹ Thus, through adopting a more vehement character, these groups increased their memes' ability to garner attention against the “blur” of competing sensorial stimuli and modalities — including the media — that inundate Spaniards on a daily basis, both online and offline.

¹⁸⁹ Nelly Richard, *Residuos Y Metáforas: Ensayos de Crítica Cultural Sobre El Chile de La Transición* (Santiago: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 2001), 15.

5.0 MUDANZAS

On June 8, 2011, the Asamblea General of Madrid's Acampada Sol came to the decision that it would move out of Puerta del Sol on June 12, 2011, owing to a strong interest to expand to neighborhoods, logistical problems, and less productive debates, among other factors.¹ Madrid's choice to *levantar* (lift) its acampada was soon replicated by the other national and international 15-M acampadas.² Since its foundation, 15-M has been a hub of physical *movement*, inspired, for example, by DRY's May 15, 2011 call to "*toma[r] la calle*" (take the street), to its growth, development, and evolution in plazas across the globe that called people to "*toma[r] la plaza*" (take the square).³ 15-M's "*mudanza*" (move) from the plazas represented but yet another evolution of this group, evidenced by the slogan under which 15-M performed its *mudanza*: "*No nos vamos, nos expandimos*" (We are not leaving, we are expanding).⁴ This message

¹ "Los 'indignados' de Madrid levantarán el campamento de la Puerta del Sol el domingo," RTVE, published June 8, 2011, <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20110608/indignados-madrid-levantaran-campamento-puerta-del-sol-domingo/437996.shtml>; Lola Huete Machado, "Por Qué Estaban Ahí," *El País*, June 5, 2011.

² Martín Cortés, "Spain's Indignados," 75; Mayka García-Hípola and María Rodríguez Beltrán, "Acción vs Representación: El 15-M Y Su Repercusión En La Ciudad," *Ángulo Recto: Revista de Estudios Sobre La Ciudad Como Espacio Plural* 5, no. 1 (2013): 12, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/ANRE/article/view/42065/40040>; Patricia García Espín and Manuel Muñoz Navarrete, "El 15M Ante Su Encrucijada," *Laberinto* no. 34 (2011): 49, http://laberinto.uma.es/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=508:el-15m-ante-su-encrucijada&catid=118:laberinto-34&Itemid=54; Tapia Martínez, "El 15M," 233; Sofia de Roa, "Movimiento 15-M: ¡Cuidado Que Viene El Ciudadano!," *Más Poder Local* no. 6 (2011): 10, <http://www.maspoderlocal.es/files/articulos/1-F4edd509611323126934-articulo-1.pdf>.

³ Ibán Díaz Parra and José Candón Mena, "Espacio Geográfico Y Ciberespacio En El Movimiento 15M," *Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía Y Ciencias Sociales* 18, no. 470 (2014), <http://www.ub.edu/geocrit/sn/sn-470.htm>.

⁴ Jesús Sanz and Óscar Mateos, "¿No Es País Para Jóvenes? Juventud, Indignación Y Cambio Social En El Contexto Post-15M," *Iglesia Viva: Revista de Pensamiento Cristiano* no. 258 (2014): 33; Santiago Ochoa Marco, *12 junio*, 2011, photograph, Available from: Foto Spanish Revolution, accessed March 1, 2015,

communicated to the public that 15-M's physical "disappearance" from the plazas did not signify a symbolic, nor literal end of the group, but rather a new metamorphosis. In total, approximately 6 to 8.5 million Spaniards (i.e., approximately 18% of Spain's total population) "visited the [15-M Acampadas]. . . joined assemblies or took part in the demonstrations" according to a study conducted by RTVE in August 2011.⁵

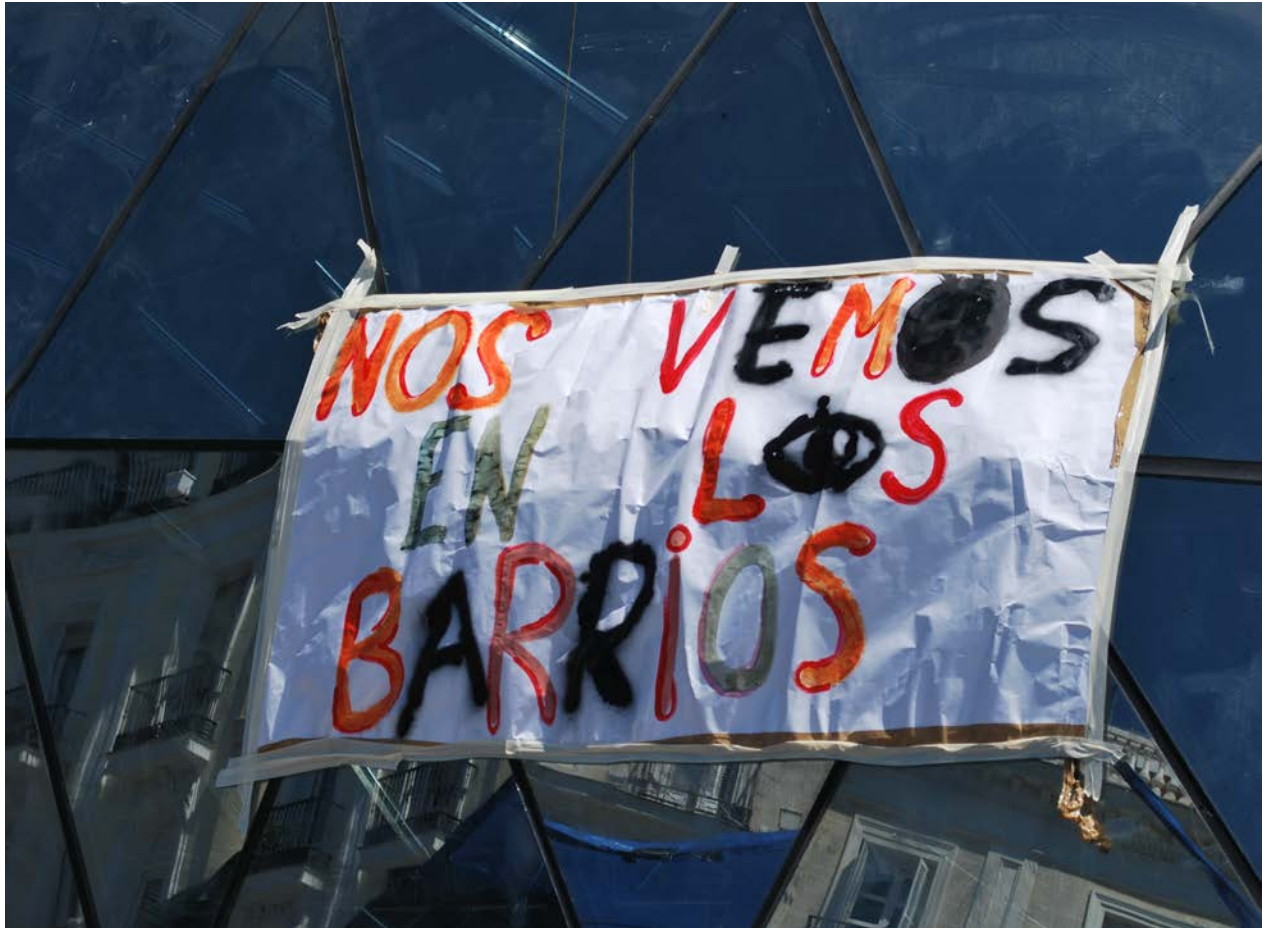


Figure 19. Sign atop the roof of a metro entrance in the Puerta del Sol Acampada.⁶

<http://fotospanishrevolution.org/Fullscreen/Fullscreen.aspx?view=0&id=72555253-5c9d-42c7-8832-52e67f7cec2c&first=7a1de6ce-ab4b-484b-afa2-5bc51c9ddc26&order=>.

⁵ Juan Luis Sánchez, "The Formidable Voices of the Plazas," *Index on Censorship* 42, no. 1 (2013): 8, doi:10.1177/0306422013477020.

⁶ Jesús Ruiz, *Nos mudamos a tu conciencia*, 2011, photograph, available from: Foto Spanish Revolution, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://fotospanishrevolution.org/Fullscreen/Fullscreen.aspx?view=0&id=72555253-5c9d-42c7-8832-52e67f7cec2c&first=a1064f3e-0132-43d4-908e-cca270f66f95&order=>.



Figure 20. Sign hanging between two telephone booths in Puerta del Sol Acampada.⁷

While 15-M's *mudanzas* were carried out, posters could be found hanging in various acampadas; these visual displays included messages to the public that indicated where to find a post-acampada 15-M. To illustrate, two posters in Madrid's Puerta del Sol Acampada provide the following insightful clues: "*Nos Vemos en Los Barrios*" (We'll see you in the neighborhoods) (see Figure 19) and "*No Nos Vamos Nos Mudamos a tu Conciencia*" (We are not leaving we are moving to your conscience) (see Figure 20).⁸

The first poster reflects 15-M's effort to expand its decentralized networks of comisiones, grupos de trabajo, and asambleas de barrio, which were in existence during the acampada phase

⁷ Héloïse, *Nos vemos en los barrios*, 2011, photograph, Available from: Foto Spanish Revolution, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://fotospanishrevolution.org/Fullscreen/Fullscreen.aspx?view=0&id=72555253-5c9d-42c7-8832-52e67f7cec2c&first=fe547e74-d439-4360-817a-491d9868009f&order=>.

⁸ Ruiz, *Nos mudamos a tu conciencia*; Héloïse, *Nos vemos en los barrios*.

and further developed after the *mudanza*, in the wake of 15-M's evolutionary move out of the plazas.⁹ By contrast, the second poster presents a more abstract understanding of 15-M's post-acampada existence: relocating to a location within the self. Although they communicate differently, both posters hint at a new understanding of 15-M in light of its post-acampada evolution. These two artifacts will be examined further in the following sections, in order to lay groundwork for this concluding chapter, which summarizes major findings, considers study limitations, reflects on possible future areas of study, revisits the original research questions posed at the outset, and concludes by examining how recent passage of a Spanish "Gag Law" and rise of a new political party potentially reconfigure the political terrain shaped by 15-M and the four follow-on groups featured in this thesis.

5.0.1 Nos vemos en los barrios pero también sabemos el camino de vuelta

On a linguistic level, 15-M's grammatical construction of "Nos vemos en Los Barrios" evokes feelings of familiarity, close proximity, and confidence by employing a colloquial use of the present tense to speak of the future ("*Nos Vemos*").¹⁰ Moreover, in this message, 15-M invokes a more direct and tangible spatiality by using the term "*barrios*" in its description of where they may be found. From a proxemics perspective, the term "*barrio*" appears to reflect an important

⁹ Fernández-Planells, "#ACAMPADABCN," 108; Pedret Santos, *Cuando Sucede Lo Inesperado*, 77, 92; García Espín, "El 15M"; Díaz Parra and Candón Mena, "Espacio Geográfico Y Ciberespacio"; Fernando Díaz Orueta, "Periferias Urbanas Y Reconfiguración de Las Políticas Urbanas En España," *Gestión Y Política Pública* (2012): 74, [http://www.gestionypoliticapublica.cide.edu/num_antteriores/Vol.XXI_No.I_vol-tematico/02_Fernando_Diaz_Orueta\(41-82\).pdf](http://www.gestionypoliticapublica.cide.edu/num_antteriores/Vol.XXI_No.I_vol-tematico/02_Fernando_Diaz_Orueta(41-82).pdf); Sanz and Mateos, "¿No Es País Para Jóvenes?"; García Espín and Muñoz Navarrete, "El 15M Ante Su Encrucijada," 49; Colectivo Madrilonia, "Cuando La Gente Reinventa," 56.

¹⁰ Fernando Polanco Martínez, Pedro Gras Manzano, and Marisa Santiago Barriandos, "Presente, Ir a + Infinitivo Y Futuro: ¿Expresan Lo Mismo Cuando Se Habla Del Futuro?," in *Las Gramáticas Y Los Diccionarios En La Enseñanza Del Español Como Segunda Lengua: Deseo Y Realidad: Actas Del XV Congreso Internacional de ASELE*, ed. María Auxiliadora Castillo Carballo et al., Colección Actas (Seville, Spain) (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla; Secretariado de Publicaciones Universidad de Sevilla; ASELE; Universidad Pablo de Olavide, 2005), 637, http://cvc.cervantes.es/ensenanza/biblioteca_ele/asele/pdf/15/15_0666.pdf.

interpretative component in 15-M's message, in the sense that it communicates that 15-M will be ever-present where Spaniards live, and not only in public spaces, thus implying a closer and more personal presence of 15-M in the lives of Spaniards.

To illustrate, 15-M's Asamblea de Barrio of Las Delicias in Valladolid, Spain remains very active, regularly holding its *asamblea* every Monday at 20:00 hours in Plaza del Carmen.¹¹ This Asamblea de Barrio, in addition to holding a weekly *asamblea*, created a time bank called "Tejiendo Redes" (Knitting Networks).¹² The Asamblea de Barrio of Las Delicias in Valladolid describes Tejiendo Redes as a type of non-economic system based on the exchange of services (e.g., "*Cambio una hora cuidando a tus hijos, por una hora de clases de cocina*" (I exchange one hour looking after your children for one hour of cooking class)).¹³ Tejiendo Redes, in addition to serving as a time bank, organizes various events in the *barrio*, such as toy drives.¹⁴

Another example of 15-M's presence in the *barrios* may be observed in Madrid's Asamblea Popular 15M del Barrio del Pilar (ABP), who on its website states that it was created as a result of 15-M's "*expansión . . . hacia los barrios [sic]*" (expansion toward the *barrios*) and from a desire to "*mantener viva la llama surgida el 15 de Mayo*" (keep the flame that emerged on May 15 alive).¹⁵ APB holds weekly *asambleas* on Saturdays at various locations in the *barrio* and has taken to recording its *asambleas* and transcribing its recorded minutes and posting them

¹¹ "Delicias," Movimiento 15M Valladolid, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://www.15mvalladolid.com/barrios/delicias/>.

¹² "¿Qué es?," Tejiendo Redes, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://www.tejiendo-redes.org/que-es/>.

¹³ Tejiendo Redes, "¿Qué es?"

¹⁴ "Compartiendo, jugando,... entre tod@s : Tejiendo barrio. 'Ningún niño sin juguetes,'" Tejiendo Redes, published January 7, 2015, <http://www.tejiendo-redes.org/compartiendo-jugando-entre-tods-tejiendo-barrio-ningun-nino-sin-juguetes/>.

¹⁵ "ABP," Asamblea Popular 15M del Barrio del Pilar, accessed March 1, 2015, <https://barriodelpilar15m.wordpress.com/about/>.

online in an open-access format through a Box.com account.¹⁶ A particularly interesting initiative from this barrio asamblea is the creation of “*La Guillotina*” (The Guillotine), a neighborhood-based peer-learning political school.¹⁷ The school endeavors to create a space where the topics that worry citizens may be addressed with calmness and to the fullest extent possible, a goal which the format and nature of a typical asamblea may not permit, due to its size and speaking etiquette.¹⁸ In this space, students (neighbors) discover “*lo que se nos oculta*” (what they [the State] hide from us) in a space in which “*entendamos los problemas hasta el punto de que seamos capaces de articular soluciones, es decir: COMPRENDER PARA TRANSFORMAR*” (we understand problems to the point that we are capable of articulating solutions, that is to say: UNDERSTAND TO TRANSFORM).¹⁹

15-M’s decentralization was also reflected in an international context, nearly five years after the 2011 acampadas, 15-M continues to exist and function on a transnational level. For example, in Berlin, Germany, 15-M Berlin’s asamblea general still meets and its Grupo de Trabajo de Feminismos (Feminisms Work Group) remains active, regularly holding asambleas.²⁰ As evidenced, examples of 15-M’s decentralization may be observed on a national and transnational level and gesture to 15-M’s close relationship and involvement in the Spanish citizen’s life regardless of locality. Thus, one can appreciate how 15-M’s national and transnational decentralized networks enable “*el espíritu de ágora que define las acampadas [del*

¹⁶ “¿Donde nos ASAMBLEAMOS?,” Asamblea Popular 15M del Barrio del Pilar, accessed March 1, 2015, <https://barriodelpilar15m.wordpress.com/about/donde-nos-asambleamos2/>; “ABP AudioActas,” Box, accessed March 3, 2015, <https://app.box.com/s/3zyjp0frv4zrulnraig>.

¹⁷ “Presentación Escuela Política ‘La Guillotina,’” Asamblea Popular 15M del Barrio del Pilar, accessed March 1, 2015, <https://barriodelpilar15m.wordpress.com/escuela-politica-la-guillotina/>.

¹⁸ Asamblea Popular 15M del Barrio del Pilar, “Presentación Escuela Política ‘La Guillotina.’”

¹⁹ Asamblea Popular 15M del Barrio del Pilar, “Presentación Escuela Política ‘La Guillotina.’”

²⁰ “Actas,” 15M Berlín, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://15mberlin.com/category/actas/>; “Feminismos,” 15M Berlín, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://15mberlin.com/category/feminismos/>.

15-M]” (the spirit of the agora that defines [15-M’s] acampadas) to continue to thrive in cities across Spain and the world.²¹

15-M’s presence in the neighborhoods illustrates a multitude of small-scale efforts in progress to positively impact the lives of Spanish citizens and bring about the type of change which was called for from the stage of the acampadas. Notwithstanding operating in *barrios*, 15-M also has maintained a presence in more centralized public spaces, performing large protests in city-centers, plazas, streets, and in front of government buildings. This facet of 15-M’s post-acampada evolution was reflected in a poster that hung during the *mudanza* of 15-M’s Sol Acampada, which stated, “*Sabemos el camino de vuelta*” (We know the way back) (see Figure 21).²² The text of this poster underscores the fact that even though 15-M was moving away from the plazas, it knew *when* and *how* to return to them, but also, more generally, *when* to take protest back into the public spaces in Spain.



Figure 21. Poster on monument of King Charles III of Spain in Puerta del Sol.²³

²¹ Díaz Parra and Candón Mena, “Espacio Geográfico Y Ciberespacio.”

²² Héloïse, *Sabemos el camino de vuelta*, 2011, photograph, Available from: Foto Spanish Revolution, accessed March 1, 2015, <http://fotospanishrevolution.org/Fullscreen/Fullscreen.aspx?view=0&id=72555253-5c9d-42c7-8832-52e67f7cec2c&first=ec1ed3de-c4b9-4ca9-a9cd-10529ffb8c1f&order=DATESHOT%20ASC>.

²³ Héloïse, *Sabemos el camino de vuelta*.

Holding true to its word, 15-M re-appeared in public spaces within the same month of its *mudanza* from the acampadas and in the following months (e.g., 19-J (June 2011), Marcha Popular Indignada (Indignant Popular March) (July 2011), and 15-O (October 2011)).²⁴ In Madrid alone, between May 2011 and November 2011, 15-M either coordinated, co-coordinated, or in some other way participated in approximately 67 calls for mobilization that cumulatively drew close to half a million people to the streets of Madrid.²⁵ Since the “*mudanza*” from the acampadas, 15-M has continued to coordinate and participate in various protest actions throughout Spain and internationally, such as: 12M-15M (May 2012), 25-S: Rodea el Congreso (Surround Congress) (September 2012), 23F: Marea ciudadana contra el golpe de los mercados (Citizens’ *Marea* Against the Market Coup d’État) (February 2013), 25A: Asedia el Congreso (Besiege Congress) (April 2013), Manifestaciones de apoyo a Gamonal (Manifestations of Support to Gamonal) (January 2014); Marchas de la Dignidad (Dignity Marches) (March 2014, 2015).²⁶

²⁴ Colectivo Madrilonia, “Cuando La Gente Reinventa,” 56–57; de la Rubia, *Hacia Una rÉvolución*, 52–152.

²⁵ Ramón Adell Argilés, “La Movilización de Los Indignados Del 15-M: Aportaciones Desde La Sociología de La Protesta,” *Sociedad Y Utopía: Revista de Ciencias Sociales* no. 38 (2011): 154–156, <http://www.sociedaduytopia.es/images/revistas/38/movilizacionindignados.pdf>; Luis Ruiz Aja, Florián Manuel Pérez, and Teresa María Gómez-Pastrana, *El Descontento Social Y La Generación IN: 15M: In-Conformismo in-Ternacionalizado: In-Estabilidad, in-Dignación, in-Ternet*, Sociologías (Madrid: Editorial Popular, 2013), 292; Helena Candelas Barajas, *Perroflauta Hasta La Médula: Crónica de 2 Años Del Movimiento 15M*, Colección Indignados (Madrid: Mandala Ediciones, 2013), 118.

²⁶ Ismael Peña-López, Mariluz Congosto, and Pablo Aragón, “Spanish Indignados and the Evolution of the 15M Movement on Twitter: Towards Networked Para-Institutions,” *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* (2014): 6, doi:10.1080/14636204.2014.931678; Sanz and Mateos, “¿No Es País Para Jóvenes?,” 48; Juan Luis Sánchez, *Las 10 Mareas Del Cambio* (Barcelona: Roca Editorial de Libros, 2013), 172; Ruiz Aja, Pérez, and Gómez-Pastrana, *El Descontento Social*, 292; Jerónimo Andreu, Marién Kadner, and J. J. Gávez, “La Marcha de la Dignidad toma el centro de Madrid con miles de personas,” *El País*, published March 23, 2014, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2014/03/22/actualidad/1395521928_044887.html; J. Jiménez Gálvez, “La Marcha de la Dignidad vuelve a tomar cuerpo en Madrid,” *El País*, published March 22, 2015, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/03/21/actualidad/1426919327_378258.html.

5.0.2 No Nos Vamos Nos Mudamos A Tu Conciencia

In contrast to the more literal meaning conveyed by the first poster, the second poster, “*No Nos Vamos Nos Mudamos a tu Conciencia*,” implies that 15-M has moved to a more abstract location, given this poster’s reference to a nebulous, internalized locality: one’s conscience. Evidence of the societal “internalization” of 15-M’s is not so much found by examining a concrete and quantitative list of “15-M *logros*” (achievements), but rather by surveying the key role 15-M has played in *inspiring* various processes that have been set into action following 15-M’s mobilizations and demonstrations in Spain.²⁷ 15-M’s internal influence in Spanish society ought not to be overlooked, since, as Spanish filmmaker Teresa Soler notes, Spaniards cannot begin to “think about constructing a different future if people are indifferent” (*pensar en construir un futuro diferente con gente indiferente*).²⁸ Apropos of Soler’s comment, 15-M, for its part, has had a significant influence in transforming Spaniards’ indifference into genuine concern and action aimed at the eventual production of “movement.”²⁹

15-M’s 2011 “*Indignate*” call sparked (e)motions that served as *un comienzo* (a beginning) for processes that called the Spanish people to “*indigna[rse]*” (become indignant) and to “*levanta[rse]*” (rise up).³⁰ Since 2011, diverse members of Spanish society have responded to these calls and others like them, as evidenced by the many decentralized forms of 15-M (e.g., grupos de trabajo and asambleas of varying sizes, locations, and topics) and explosion of follow-

²⁷ Ruiz Aja, Pérez, and Gómez-Pastrana, *El Descontento Social*, 294; Manuel Castells, *Redes de Indignación Y Esperanza: Los Movimientos Sociales En La Era de Internet*, trans. María Hernández (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2012), 147.

²⁸ Teresa Soler, interview by Amaya Prieto, *Viaje al centro de la noche*, podcast audio, May 3, 2015, <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/audios/viaje-al-centro-de-la-noche/viaje-centro-noche-viajamos-causa-2-03-05-15/3113787/>.

²⁹ McGee, “Social Movement as Meaning,” 243.

³⁰ Adell Argilés, “La Movilización de Los Indignados,” 148.

on groups, for whom “15-M . . . [es] . . . *la lanzadera*” (15-M . . . [is] . . . the launching force).³¹ 15-M’s *mudanza* into the *conciencia* of the Spanish people can be observed in the vast number of 15-M follow-on groups (see Figure 1 in Chapter 1), in 15-M’s varied post-acampada manifestations, and in the renewed efforts undertaken by civic political groups that existed prior to 15-M.

In 2013, Ada Colau, spokesperson for PAH (i.e., a 15-M precursor group whose mission is to combat evictions) and recently elected mayor of Barcelona, stated that PAH “‘*había nacido antes de las movilizaciones del 15-M, pero con el 15-M se genera una organización territorial de la noche a la mañana, que era necesaria contra los desahucios*’” (had been born before 15-M’s mobilizations, but with 15-M came an overnight territorial organization, which was necessary to combat evictions).³² This quote alludes to the manner in which 15-M positively affected pre-existing efforts to create socio-political and economic change in Spain, in this case, helping to grow a platform that seeks to stop evictions.

The present study contends that it would be in error to propose to quantitatively judge 15-M’s impact in Spanish society, as such a mode of interpretation would deprive one from obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the profound ideational shift that has taken hold in Spanish society as a result of 15-M’s actions. This work seeks to contribute to the theoretical perspective offered by media studies scholar Manuel Castells and echoed by sociologist Teresa María Gómez-Pastrana Jimeno, which holds to be true that “*el proceso es el producto*” (the

³¹ Esther Vivas and Josep Maria Antentas, “Indignad@s: Esto Acaba de Empezar,” in *Las Voces Del 15-M*, ed. Josep Maria Antentas et al., Panfletos Del Lince (Barcelona: Los Libros del Lince, 2011), 98; Ruiz Aja, Pérez, and Gómez-Pastrana, *El Descontento Social*, 292.

³² “‘Indignados’ siguen en pie y cuentan sus logros,” Infobae, published May 15, 2013, <http://www.infobae.com/2013/05/15/1071549-indignados-siguen-pie-y-cuentan-sus-logros>; Marta París, “Ada Colau gana la alcaldía de Barcelona a Xavier Trias,” *20 Minutos*, published May 24, 2015, <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/2470553/0/trias-colau/resultados-elecciones/municipales-barcelona/>.

process is the product).³³ Castells argues that a new Spanish society will be “*el resultado del proceso, no de un plan preconcebido de cómo será el producto*” (the result of a process, not of a preconceived plan of how the product will be).³⁴ A similar perspective is also held by those who participated with 15-M, such as Antonio Fraguas of Madrid, who states: “*No podemos tener una visión mercantilista del #15m, buscando recuperar a corto plazo ‘la inversión’ en ilusión y reflexión*” (We cannot have a mercantilist vision of #15M, looking to recover in the short term ‘the investment’ in illusion and reflection).³⁵

To conclude this study’s teleological historical narrative of 15-M and its protest actions, it should be noted that, in general, 15-M was positively viewed by the Spanish people, as evidenced by data taken from a study performed by polling agency Metroscopia in June 2011, which found that 80% of Spaniards believed that 15-M “pursued just and legitimate causes.”³⁶ In addition, in a different study performed in June 2011 by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (Center for Sociological Research) (CIS), a Spanish government-related polling body, 70% of Spaniards positively viewed 15-M.³⁷ Three years later, the public’s support of 15-M remained unwavering, as substantiated by a May 2014 study by Metroscopia, which found that “[a] un 56 % de los ciudadanos el 15M le inspira una sensación más bien de simpatía y un 72 % cree que tienen razón en lo que dicen y por lo que protestan” ([f]or 56% of [Spanish]

³³ Ruiz Aja, Pérez, and Gómez-Pastrana, *El Descontento Social*, 294; Castells, *Redes de Indignación*, 147.

³⁴ Ruiz Aja, Pérez, and Gómez-Pastrana, *El Descontento Social*, 294.

³⁵ Toño Fraguas, “#15m: Para qué sirve todo esto,” *lafragua de Toño Fraguas*, published May 24, 2011, <http://lafragua.blogspot.com/2011/05/15m-para-que-ha-servido-todo-esto.html#comment-form>.

³⁶ Kerman Calvo, “Fighting for a Voice: The Spanish 15-M/Indignados Movement in Spain,” in *Understanding European Movements: New Social Movements, Global Justice Struggles, Anti-Austerity Protest*, ed. Laurence Cox and Cristina Flesher Fominaya, Routledge Advances in Sociology (London: Routledge, 2013), 237; Kerman Calvo Borobia et al., *Zoom Político: Especial 15-M* (Madrid, Spain: Laboratorio de la Fundación Alternativas, April 2011), 5, <http://www.falternativas.org/laboratorio/libros-e-informes/zoom-politico/especial-15-m>.

³⁷ Martín Cortés, “Spain’s Indignados,” 70; Calvo Borobia et al., *Zoom Político: Especial 15-M*, 3; “El CIS reduce un tercio sus encuestas para el próximo año tras perder medio millón de euros de presupuesto,” Europa Press, published October 1, 2012, <http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-cis-reduce-tercio-encuestas-proximo-ano-perder-medio-millon-euros-presupuesto-20121001175415.html>.

citizens 15-M inspires feelings of affection and 72% believe that [15-M] was right in what it said and its reasons for protesting).³⁸

5.1 15-M'S MEMETIC LIFE CYCLE

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 began by considering how different protest memes were invented in the 15-M memplex. Each chapter then moved to consider how the four follow-on protest groups expressed memes that compared and contrasted with the 15-M memplex. The overall findings from this exercise can be reviewed by analyzing the extent to which each meme from the 15-M memplex completed what is called a “memetic life cycle.”³⁹ The memetic life cycle consists of the following set of steps: 1) *assimilation*: a meme is “noticed, understood, and accepted” by its future host, 2) *retention*: the new host’s “retention of the meme in memory,” 3) *expression*: the process by which a meme transitions from the host’s memory storage — where it exists as a “memory pattern” (i.e., memotype) — to a physical form (i.e., mediotype), such as speech, “text, pictures, behavior . . . tools, buildings or works of art” that “can be perceived by others,” and 4) *transmission*: in order for the mediotype to be transmitted to a new host, a “physical carrier or medium” (i.e., meme vehicle) is needed to enable a secure transmission of the meme with minimal “loss or deformation” of its structure. For a transmission to occur, the meme must be “presented” to the prospective host by way of: a mediotype, the observation of “outside

³⁸ Sanz and Mateos, “¿No Es País Para Jóvenes?,” 32.

³⁹ Alfredo M. Ronchi, *eCulture: Cultural Content in the Digital Age*, *eCulture: Cultural Content in the Digital Age*, Ebook (Berlin: Springer, 2009), 37, doi:10.1007/978-3-540-75276-9.

phenomena,” or by “thought,” which is the recombination of pre-existing cognitive elements maintained by the future host.⁴⁰

This discussion will further explain the final step of the memetic life cycle (i.e., transmission), in order to explain the observed instantiations of mutation that occurred during the examined 15-M memeplex memes’ replication by the follow-on groups. These mutations will be examined with respect to their rhetorical and argumentative function, in addition to their memetic significance. Moreover, recalling Isocrates’ definition of mimesis (i.e., “replication” in memetic terms), mutations may be alternatively interpreted as purposive artful variances that circumvent a “slavish” and “literal” imitation that Isocratic mimesis discourages.⁴¹ In essence, mutations, when understood through an Isocratic lens, become *positive* rhetorical modifications, which enable a speaker to adapt “the past . . . rather than impose . . . [it] . . . upon, the present”; this thereby enables a speaker to produce a “persuasive—socially competent and politically effective” discourse for his or her audience.⁴² As such, the present study encourages an understanding of memetic mutations from both memetic and Isocratic perspectives.

Finally, the memes’ overall success can be appraised by assessing their ability to maintain the three characteristics determined to be indicative of a successful meme: “Copying-Fidelity” (or “Fidelity”), “Fecundity,” and “Longevity.”⁴³ “Fidelity” is a term that refers to the particular qualities of a meme that ensure its “copying” (i.e., transmission) to be one wherein the

⁴⁰ Francis Heylighen and Klaas Chielens, “Evolution of Culture, Memetics,” in *Encyclopedia of Complexity and Systems Science*, ed. Robert A. Meyers, Ebook, Springer Reference (New York: Springer, 2009), 3205–3218, doi:10.1007/978-0-387-30440-3_189; Ronchi, *eCulture*, 38–39.

⁴¹ Marsh, *Classical Rhetoric*, 152; Hariman, “Civic Education,” 222–223.

⁴² Hariman, “Civic Education,” 218; Charles Marsh, “Millennia of Discord: The Controversial Educational Program of Isocrates,” *Theory and Research in Education* 8, no. 3 (November 23, 2010): 299, doi:10.1177/1477878510381629.

⁴³ Heylighen and Chielens, “Evolution of Culture, Memetics,” 3208.

memes remain “relatively intact.”⁴⁴ Memetic copying is a process that is “subject to continuous mutation” and, as a result, memes with greater copying-fidelity maintain a greater degree of their “original pattern,” despite undergoing multiple transmissions.⁴⁵ The second characteristic, fecundity, makes reference to the “rate” of copying experienced by a given meme, which serves as an indicator of its overall ability to spread and accrue the “robust and sustained attention” needed to live and avoid the death of irrelevance and obsolescence.⁴⁶

An important variable involved in the measure of a meme’s fecundity is what memeticists term “Susceptibility.”⁴⁷ The aforementioned term may be understood from a rhetorical perspective as the *kairos* of the meme. In memetics, susceptibility makes reference to a meme’s “timing” or “location” and its effect on a prospective host’s receptiveness to the meme and vulnerability of being infected by said meme.⁴⁸ The following factors increase the “susceptibility” of a meme: its perceived relevance to current events, its relevance to pre-existing “successful” memes, and the “interests and values” of the audience that will encounter the soon-to-be “unleashed” meme.⁴⁹ The final characteristic of a successful meme is “longevity,” which relates to a meme’s ability to ensure its long-term transmission.⁵⁰ In the following section, each chapter’s most significant theoretical conclusions will be addressed.

⁴⁴ Michele Knobel and Colin Lankshear, “Online Memes, Affinities, and Cultural Production,” in *A New Literacies Sampler*, ed. Michele Knobel and Colin Lankshear, New Literacies and Digital Epistemologies (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 201.

⁴⁵ Noel Murray, Ajay Manrai, and Lalita Manrai, “Memes, Memetics and Marketing: A State-of-the-Art Review and a Lifecycle Model of Meme Management in Advertising,” in *The Routledge Companion to the Future of Marketing*, ed. Luiz Moutinho, Enrique Bigné, and Ajay K. Manrai, Routledge Companions in Business, Management and Accounting (London: Routledge, 2014), 334; Heylighen and Chielens, “Evolution of Culture, Memetics,” 3208.

⁴⁶ Knobel and Lankshear, “Online Memes, Affinities,” 202; Murray, Manrai, and Manrai, “Memes, Memetics and Marketing,” 334.

⁴⁷ Knobel and Lankshear, “Online Memes, Affinities,” 202.

⁴⁸ Knobel and Lankshear, “Online Memes, Affinities,” 202.

⁴⁹ Knobel and Lankshear, “Online Memes, Affinities,” 202.

⁵⁰ Knobel and Lankshear, “Online Memes, Affinities,” 202; Heylighen and Chielens, “Evolution of Culture, Memetics,” 3208.

5.1.1 Isocratic Moral Argumentation

Chapter two discussed the beginnings of 15-M's protest by specifically examining a form of argumentation practiced by 15-M to facilitate acampada growth and increase participant involvement, termed by this study as "Isocratic Moral Argumentation" and categorized as a 15-M memplex meme. The present study determined that the aforementioned 15-M meme underwent a successful "memetic life cycle," owing to its subsequent transmission and expression by each examined follow-on group. However, within the context of each follow-on group's replication and expression of this 15-M meme, instantiations of memetic mutation were observed. For example, only one of the four studied follow-on groups (i.e., the Marea Blanca) produced an interpellative call directed at individuals, which was a component preserved from the original pattern of the 15-M meme of Isocratic moral argumentation. Such mutations, when viewed from an argumentative and rhetorical perspective, are an anticipated result when performing this type of argumentation, given that Isocratic moral argumentation is inherently structured to encourage a creative and non-restrictive form of imitation when performed. In memetic terms, the mutations that occurred in this meme's replication were likely created to increase the meme's longevity. In light of the fact that the meme of Isocratic moral argumentation contained an oral component in its pattern, the mutations that occurred in this portion of the meme are understandable, given that speech-related memes produce more challenges with respect to fidelity. Consequently, the examined 15-M meme, despite its posed fidelity-related issues was able to experience a high copying rate (i.e., fecundity) among the follow-on groups, illustrating the meme's longevity, and as such, making this 15-M meme one which meets the three factors determined to be indicative of a "successful" meme.

This chapter, which involved a collective study of Isocrates' *œuvre* and two unpublished manuscripts on Isocrates by rhetorician Michael Calvin McGee, generated a new theoretical framework of Isocratic moral argumentation, thereby adding texture to our understanding of Isocrates' *paideia*. Given that Isocrates is not believed to have written a detailed handbook outlining the type of oratory he instructed his students to perform; the concept of Isocratic moral argumentation presents a useful perspective for understanding Isocrates' educational program.⁵¹ Additionally, the insights generated through application of this mode of analysis in the present study gesture toward the fecundity of Isocratic moral argumentation as a hermeneutical tool.

5.1.2 Occupation

Chapter three explored 15-M's acampadas with respect to their utilization of space, focusing particularly on the 15-M memeplex meme of "occupation." With respect to this meme's degree of success in completing the memetic life cycle, it was found that this meme obtained relatively less success in completing the memetic life cycle, when compared to the Chapter two meme of Isocratic moral argumentation. This is due to the fact that only three of the four follow-on groups evidence the meme of occupation's transmission and eventual expression. Moreover, among the three groups that did replicate this meme (i.e., Marea Blanca, Yayoflautas, and PACD), the eventual expression of said meme carried mutations, such as the use of movement and the addition of costumes that diverted from the original 15-M meme mediotype. These observed mutations, from a rhetorical and argumentative perspective, may be understood as purposive variances designed to aid in producing the intended rhetorical effect of performing this type of

⁵¹ Isaac Payá Martínez, "La Pedagogía Ético-Política En El Pensamiento Isocrático," *Δαίμων-Daimon: Revista Internacional de Filosofía* 30 (2003): 52, <http://revistas.um.es/daimon/article/viewFile/14221/13711>; Laura Sancho Rocher, "Democracia Frente a Populismo En Isócrates," *Klio: Beiträge Zur Alten Geschichte* 90, no. 1 (2008): 46, doi:10.1524/klio.2008.0003.

protest action. From a memetic point of view, the observed mutations were likely attempts to increase the fecundity of each respective follow-on group's meme and to also simultaneously aid in improving the possibility of the meme being noticed (i.e., the first step in the memetic life cycle: assimilation).

It may be concluded that the Chapter 3 meme of “occupation” encountered significantly more challenges in terms of maintaining copying fidelity and fecundity, when compared to the Chapter two 15-M memeplex meme of Isocratic moral argumentation. Furthermore, the longevity of the meme of occupation is not as certain as that of the meme examined in Chapter two, given the meme of occupation's incomplete transmission by all of the follow-on groups. Bearing this in mind, the Chapter three meme of occupation's overall success was not as strong as that of Isocratic moral argumentation.

With respect to the theoretical contributions that have emerged from this chapter, one particularly noteworthy revelation relates to 15-M's performance of the rhetorical figure of *praeteritio* through its acampadas. Although 15-M's acampadas played a both political and educational role, they also served an argumentative one, which yields a most unique finding. By constructing acampadas nationally and internationally within the first few days of its occupation, 15-M was able to visually “draw attention” to its public discourse — while initially “professing to avoid it [i.e., its public discourse] — thereby implicitly inviting the Spanish public and media to “construct [it] . . . for themselves.”⁵²

15-M's lack of addressing “certain information” was not performed through the use of text or speech, but rather through the silence of bodies in space, in occupation. Therefore, through the confluence of its corporeal and rhetorical actions, 15-M performed a figurative enactment of the rhetorical figure of *praeteritio*. In the current body of literature that examines

⁵² Tindale, *Rhetorical Argumentation: Principles of Theory and Practice*, 81.

the articulation of this rhetorical figure, *praeteritio* is *conventionally* performed through oral or discursive means, rather than through the confluence of verbal and nonverbal communication, as is the case of 15-M. Hence, the present study suggests that this rhetorical figure can *also* be performed by the confluence of nonverbal and verbal communication, thereby challenging current understandings surrounding the enactment of this figure.

5.1.3 *Malestar Económico*

Chapter 4 examined the expression of *malestar económico* (economic malaise), a meme of the 15-M memplex, in the visual protest memes of 15-M and the follow-on groups. This meme was selected for analysis as a result of its ubiquity in recent Spanish public discourse, including that of 15-M, and owing to its particular relevance to the current microeconomic conditions of Spain. In order to analyze these groups' protest memes, this chapter developed an interdisciplinary semiotic-textual framework, which permitted a comprehensive analysis of memes' visual, textual, and visual-textual dimensions. Three analytic foci guided the analyses performed in this section: (1) to reveal the socio-cultural meaning behind visual and textual symbols, (2) to identify key compositional and aesthetic characteristics and their effects, and (3) to examine how 15-M and the follow-on groups (re)-articulated power dynamics and the meme of *malestar económico* in their protest memes.

This chapter's analyses demonstrated that the 15-M memplex meme of *malestar económico* experienced a successful articulation of the "memetic life cycle," as it was replicated in all of the follow-on groups' memes. This finding is particularly significant, when taking into account that 15-M's visual expression and articulation of *malestar económico* consisted of four memetic features, all of which were articulated in the memes of the follow-on groups.

Nevertheless, the follow-on groups' expression of 15-M's meme occurred with slight mutation. This study identified three mutations, which relate to a difference in geographic scope when evoking memory, varying levels of specificity when framing motives for expressing *malestar económico*, and lastly, the manner in which the memes present a means to address the groups' respective causes of *malestar económico*. Although distinct in nature, from a rhetorical and argumentative perspective, all three memetic mutations may be interpreted as responding to the unique organizational and circumstantial needs of each follow-on group, in order to construct effective discourse. On a memetic level, these mutations are an anticipated result of the memetic copying process, which is routinely subject to continuous mutation. That being so, the observed mutations may be viewed as the memes' attempt to improve their susceptibility (e.g., optimizing their prospective hosts' receptiveness to their message).

In brief, it was determined that the examined 15-M meme of *malestar económico* achieved the greatest success in fulfilling the three characteristics that typify a "successful meme" (i.e., fidelity, fecundity, and longevity), when compared to all of the examined 15-M memeplex memes. This result has likely occurred owing to the overall structure of this meme and its route of transmission (i.e., the Internet), which as multiple studies have shown, can greatly increase the fecundity of a meme (e.g., viral memes). These two factors likely enabled *malestar económico* to maintain a greater degree of copying fidelity than 15-M's argumentative practices (i.e., Isocratic moral argumentation) and protest behavior (i.e., occupation), consolidating its overall longevity.

With regard to this section's theoretical contributions, the present chapter contributes to the small number of language and semiotic studies that consider the visual-textual dimension of images and also proposes a formal and systematic means to examine the presence of memes

within other memes, which is of particular utility to the fields of memetics and communication. In memetics, such a tool can aid in isolating particular memes that increase a meme's overall transmission rate. With respect to the field of communication, such an approach to memes has the potential to reveal *how* distinct memes used within a meme work together to construct a discourse.

5.1.4 Study Limitations and Future Areas of Study

5.1.4.1 Study Limitations

The aforementioned findings should be interpreted bearing in mind a number of study limitations, which will be explored in the current section. These limitations can be understood as falling into the following two categories: “study design limitations” and “theoretical limitations.” The former refers to the planning or organization of this study, while the latter makes reference to elements whose inclusion would have further enriched the application of particular theories used herein. The first study design limitation relates to the relatively small sample size of 15-M follow-on groups studied in this thesis. As a result, this thesis' findings in relation to 15-M-connected protest groups may not be wholly transferable and representative of *all* 15-M follow-on groups. A second study design limitation pertains to the lack of attention this work paid to the many other types of media 15-M and the follow-on groups used as part of their social protest (e.g., protest videos, movies, flash mobs, music, choreographed dances, and poetry), owing to the thematic nature of each chapter in the present study. These other forms of media are equally valuable sources of insight in terms of 15-M and its follow-on groups' protest techniques and memetic replication behavior.

With respect to the current study's theoretical limitations, one particular facet of 15-M's protest practice that was not addressed in the present study concerns a recent spring 2015 demonstration that occurred in Spain, in which protesters "attended" as holograms. Due to practical constraints, this protest act was not studied, but nevertheless remains salient to our understanding of 15-M's spatial politics, especially in relation to the space of appearance and the 15-M memeplex meme of occupation. This particular protest event will be reported in greater detail later in this chapter, though not to the extent it merits. A second theoretical limitation of this study relates to the lack of attention given to how the follow-on groups mimetically copied memes from *one another*, an angle that would have likely provided an insightful perspective on the examined follow-on groups' overall memetic behavior, however beyond the specialized scope of this study.

5.1.4.2 Future Areas of Study

This study recommends that future investigation be considered in the following three areas. First, the internationalization of 15-M, which began shortly after the acampadas formed and continues to the present, presents multiple avenues for future inquiry, with respect to instantiations of memetic replication of memes derived from the 15-M memeplex and its follow-on groups. For example, multiple international protests have looked to 15-M as a source of inspiration, such as Occupy Wall Street, Occupy Puerto Rico, the Aganaktismenoi Protests (Greece), the Tent Protests (Israel), Yo Soy 132 (Mexico), and the Umbrella Movement (Hong Kong).⁵³ At times, protests held outside of Spain even received direct assistance from 15-M. To illustrate, in the Yo

⁵³ For additional details on Occupy Wall Street's connection to 15-M, see Passini, "Facebook and Twitter Revolutions," 301; Gaby and Caren, "Occupy Online," 368; Rathke, "Global Substructure," 84; Grattan, "Pierre Bourdieu and Populism," 213; Juris, "Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere," 275; Rehmann, "Occupy Wall Street," 3.

Soy 132 protests of Mexico, some of the participants from the 15-M Barcelona acampada participated personally in the Yo Soy 132 protests, which began in 2012.⁵⁴

Along similar lines, future research might also be performed to examine 15-M's transnational protest efforts, such as its organization of 15-O, a protest which occurred in 40 countries to protest the capitalistic economic system.⁵⁵ Moreover one could explore the international influence of 15-M-related follow-on groups vis-à-vis international protest efforts, in order to determine the global effects of 15-M follow-on groups and their memes. For instance, in the case of the Marea Blanca, instantiations of memetic replication from this group have been observed in Latin America, Asia, and Europe.⁵⁶

Second, a future study examining 15-M and the follow-on groups' influence on Spanish culture could also be of scholarly interest. In such a study, one could select a recently observed social practice and examine its potential replication and expression of these groups' memes, in order to connect a particular behavior to these political actors, thereby producing a memetically and socially significant conclusion. For example, both 15-M and the follow-on groups have been widely recognized for their incorporation of senior citizens in their protest efforts. In the years following May 2011, a notable increase has been observed in the political participation and activism — both off-line and on-line — of Spanish seniors, a widely-observed phenomenon called “*poder gris*” (gray power).⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Candelas Barajas, *Perroflauta Hasta La Médula*, 127.

⁵⁵ Candelas Barajas, *Perroflauta Hasta La Médula*, 124–125.

⁵⁶ Henry Samuel, “French Doctors Strike in Protest at 'NHS-style' Reforms,” *The Telegraph*, published December 23, 2014, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/europe/france/11310892/French-doctors-strike-in-protest-at-NHS-style-reforms.html>; “Médicos vuelven a protestar y evalúan reinicio de huelga nacional indefinida,” *La República*, published November 27, 2013, <http://www.larepublica.pe/27-11-2013/medicos-vuelven-a-protestar-y-evaluan-reinicio-de-huelga-nacional-indefinida>; “Private doctors on strike today,” *The Times of India*, published May 8, 2015, <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/lucknow/Private-doctors-on-strike-today/articleshow/47194888.cms>.

⁵⁷ Ana Sebastián Morillas and Gema Navarro Martínez, “La Influencia de Las Nuevas Tecnologías: Videojuegos, Redes Sociales E Internet, En Los Consumidores Seniors En España,” in *I Congreso Internacional de*

Many credit the recent upsurge in senior political involvement in Spain to the birth and legacy of 15-M.⁵⁸ Moreover, Spanish journalist Fernando Arias, sociologist María Amparo Novo Vázquez, and professor of applied economics María Rosalía Vicente Cuervo predict that political participation among Spain's senior citizen population will steadily rise in the coming years.⁵⁹ Whether this new practice materializes into an organized effort or simply changes the way elderly Spaniards culturally engage with politics, 15-M and the follow-on groups are likely to serve as an important source of memetic inspiration.

Third, future research could explore 15-M and its follow-on groups' influence on the political communication of the Spanish government and Spanish political parties, to discern how the demands by these groups are (not) being articulated in official political discourse. For example, secretary general Pedro Sánchez of PSOE has invoked the climate of political protest in his political party's campaign discourse for Spain's 2015 elections stating: "*En lugar de quedarnos sentados, vamos a convertir la protesta en propuesta y la propuesta en hechos. Es lo que haremos en este nuevo tiempo*" (Instead of remaining seated, we are going to turn the protests into proposals and the proposals into reality. This is what we will do in this new time).⁶⁰

Comunicación Y Sociedad Digital, ed. Francisco Segado Boj and Beatriz Lloves Sobrado (Logroño: Universidad Internacional de La Rioja, 2013), 22, <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=4249417>; Fernando Arias, "Los 'jubiletas' rebeldes y el 15M," *Levante-EMV*, published December 28, 2013, <http://www.levante-emv.com/opinion/2013/12/28/jubiletas-rebeldes-15m/1063747.html>; Paula Figols, "Los Jubilados Indignados se movilizan en Zaragoza," *Heraldo de Aragón*, last modified March 22, 2013, http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/aragon/zaragoza_provincia/zaragoza/2013/03/24/los_jubilados_indignados_moviliza_n_zaragoza_227427_301.html; Tomás Sánchez Criado, "Las lógicas del telecuidado: La fabricación de la 'autonomía conectada' en la teleasistencia para personas mayores" (unpublished manuscript, accessed March 11, 2015), 13-14, Portable Document Format file.

⁵⁸ Figols, "Los Jubilados Indignados"; Carmen Galdón Corbella, "Movimiento 15M y feminismo: Una aproximación al carácter feminista del 15M" (master's thesis, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 2012), 105, <http://eciencia.urjc.es/bitstream/handle/10115/11429/Feminismo%20y%2015M.pdf?sequence=3>.

⁵⁹ Arias, "Los 'jubiletas' rebeldes"; Amparo Novo Vázquez and María Rosalía Vicente Cuervo, "Participo (online), Luego Existo: Un Análisis de La Participación Social Y Política a Través de Internet En España," *Empiria: Revista de Metodología de Ciencias Sociales* 28 (2014): 19–20, doi:10.5944/empiria.28.12119.

⁶⁰ "Pedro Sánchez: 'Estamos moviendo el cambio con los ciudadanos,'" Partido Socialista Obrero Español, published September 19, 2014, <http://www.psoe.es/secretariogeneral/news/750543/page/pedro-sanchez-estamos-moviendo-cambio-con-los-ciudadanos.html>.

The aforementioned proposed areas for future study are not, by any means, representative of the multitude of possible topics for future study apropos of 15-M and its follow-on groups. The next section will revisit the proposed research questions of this thesis, in light of the findings of this work.

5.1.5 Re-contextualized Discussion of Research Questions and Findings

The present section will respond to the three research questions proposed at the beginning of this thesis, in light of the findings presented in this work. Subsequently, the future of 15-M and the follow-on groups, as it relates to the current socio-political climate of Spain, will be discussed and explored.

- 1. What are the primary connections between the 15-M acampadas and the follow-on Spanish protest groups that followed in the wake of the initial 2011 mobilizations?*

This study has identified a significant number of connections between the 15-M acampadas and the follow-on groups examined herein (i.e., Ahora, Tú Decides, Marea Blanca, Plataforma Auditoría Ciudadana de la Deuda, and Yayoflautas (Iaioflautas)). First, it was found that the follow-on groups, to a notable extent, construct their arguments as 15-M had in Puerta del Sol, and across the plazas of Spain. This argument form, understood through the lens of Isocratic Moral Argumentation in Chapter 2, consisted of borrowing historical *topoi* in order to create new *logoi*. Second, this study demonstrated that all of the follow-on groups analyzed, with the exception of Ahora, Tú Decides, emulated 15-M's occupation of space (*ocupación*) as a means to draw public, political, and media attention to their protest efforts. For these follow-on groups,

reclaiming public space was an integral part of their protest acts and similarly symbolized a brief re-claiming of State or institutional space.

Third, like the visual discourse of the 15-M *acampadas*, the follow-on groups similarly designed visual protest memes that re-negotiated power dynamics to empower Spanish citizens. Chapter 4 showed that all four follow-on groups, without exception, represented citizens as decisive figures in determining the political, social, and economic decisions of Spain. Consequently, it may be concluded that 15-M and the follow-on groups share a great number of characteristics, particularly with respect to their protest praxis, conceptualization of modern-day political activism, and understanding of the role of a citizen in the Spanish context.

2. *How do 15-M and the follow-on groups' approaches to democratizing Spain differ from one another?*

To “democratize,” as defined by Oxford English Dictionary, means both to “introduce... democratic principles” and to “make (something) accessible to everyone.”⁶¹ This understanding of democratization, which emphasizes citizens’ participation in politics and universal accessibility, was both embraced and promoted by 15-M and the follow-on groups. Despite sharing the same objective, 15-M and the follow-on groups selected a number divergent strategies to promote the democratization of Spain. This study has identified several notable differences between 15-M and the follow-on groups’ methods. First, in organizational terms, this study has found that while 15-M is widely-dispersed across Spain, it lacks “anchored” centers of operation, whereas, the follow-on groups have established nuclei, or nodes, in key regions and cities in Spain through which

⁶¹ “Democratize,” Oxford Dictionaries Online, accessed June 26, 2015, https://www.oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/democratize?q=democratizing.

they organize and coordinate their protest efforts. Second, this study has observed that while 15-M often proposes sweeping changes in Spain (e.g., in government, society, and other sectors), the follow-on groups, to a greater degree, focus on smaller-scale issues that nonetheless affect the lives of everyday Spaniards (e.g., medical copays, cuts in education and pensions, and the privatization of individual hospitals).

Third, in spatial terms, 15-M tends to hold its protests in public spaces (e.g., plazas, neighborhoods, and streets), while the follow-on groups, to a greater extent, elect to occupy semi-public and private spaces (e.g., buses, hospitals, and banks). Moreover, while 15-M's protests are often stationary *ocupaciones* (occupations), the follow-on groups often incorporate mobility into their protest efforts (e.g., Marea Blanca marches and the Iaioflautas' bus protests). Fourth, with respect to the scale of their protests, 15-M frequently organizes large manifestations that involve a great number of people (e.g., May 15, 2011 and 15-M's second anniversary), while the follow-on groups generally coordinate demonstrations that involve fewer participants (e.g., PACD's simian-themed protest). In light of the aforementioned, it would appear that 15-M operates on much larger scale to democratize Spain than the follow-on groups.

3. *To what extent might the coupling of Susan Blackmore's concept of the "memeplex" with Michael Calvin McGee's theorization of social movements as "a set of meanings" yield useful tools for analyzing twenty-first century civic activism?*

The present study suggests that the theoretical pairing of Blackmore and McGee's concepts presents significant analytic benefits in the study of contemporary civic activism. The interpretive decision to defer classification of 15-M as a "social movement" before verifying whether it produced changes in Spain's rhetorically indexed

social consciousness thus emerges as a significant study feature. Approaching 15-M as a meaning-producing memplex has proven to be heuristically useful in this regard, affording the theoretical flexibility to avoid “presuming” the existence of a social movement “as a phenomenon” at the outset of the study, focusing instead on whether the memetic processes observed in the relationship between 15-M and the follow-on groups constitutes evidence of a *verifiable* social “movement.”⁶²

Beyond the present study, these two theoretical tools can be useful in guiding scholars of contemporary civic activism away from prematurely identifying a social “movement” in contexts where one has not yet occurred, or where the processes that contribute to change are still in progress. On a microscopic level, this theoretical pairing is particularly useful in the study of contemporary civic activism, as this orientation enables one to break down the functioning of highly successful protest memes that have contributed to social change, and in the same sense, identify the primary features of protest memes that have obtained notably less success. Moreover, in practice, this approach provides citizen activists a means to isolate successful memetic characteristics that can be incorporated into their own memes, in order to give greater visibility and awareness to their respective causes and platforms.

5.2 *EL PORVENIR: THE FUTURE OF 15-M AND FOLLOW-ON GROUPS*

The present study considers the role and impact of 15-M and the follow-on groups in Spanish society, the challenges these groups have faced, and their tools of resistance. Many of these

⁶² McGee, ““Social Movement,”” 243, 244.

groups' shared social victories have been included and celebrated in this work, which has also highlighted the communication and memetic-related interest behind various forms of social protest in Spain, as well as the socio-political significance of protestors' successes for the Spanish people and, more generally, the ever-more globalized world. Nevertheless, the political system in Spain has not disregarded the *puissance* of Spanish protestors' calls for change and collective acts of resistance and has accordingly responded in equal force.

As the first signs of hard-fought social change begin to appear in Spain, so too do additional obstacles and new incalculable actors that may threaten the full exercise of protest in Spain, for Spaniards of any political affiliation. The sections that follow will first examine a recent Government-sponsored law approved on March 26, 2015, called *Ley Orgánica de Seguridad Ciudadana* (Citizens' Security Organic Law), whose opponents argue "violate[s] fundamental rights and freedoms."⁶³ A second section will conclude by presenting *Podemos*, a new political party whose discourse is embraced by many Spaniards, yet whose motives for foundation and political agenda remain largely unavailable for scrutiny, only months before elections are to be held in Spain. The next section will introduce the Citizens' Security Organic Law.

5.2.1 *Ley de Seguridad Ciudadana*: Citizens' Security or a "Gag Law"?

On November 29, 2013, Spain's Council of Ministers approved a draft bill titled *Ley Orgánica de Seguridad Ciudadana* (Citizens' Security Organic Law) to substitute the nation's existing *Ley*

⁶³ Sarah Steffen, "Protesters vow to fight Spain's controversial 'gag laws,'" Deutsche Welle, published April 17, 2015, <http://www.dw.de/protesters-vow-to-fight-spains-controversial-gag-laws/a-18390614>.

Orgánica de Seguridad Ciudadana (1992), also called *Ley Cocuera* (Cocuera Law).⁶⁴ According to La Moncloa, the President's official residence, this new draft bill was designed to "guarantee and improve the coexistence of all Spaniards... based on the principle of proportionality in its triple dimension: suitability, need, and proportionality" (*garantizar y mejorar la convivencia de todos los españoles . . . basado en el principio de proporcionalidad en su triple dimensión: idoneidad, necesidad y proporcionalidad*) and seeks to update the nation's Penal Code, in light of the "changes in... [Spanish] society in the last 22 years" (*cambios en . . . [la] sociedad [española] en estos últimos 22 años*).⁶⁵ Among its 55 infractions, the 2013 version of *Ley Orgánica de Seguridad Ciudadana*, also called *Ley Mordaza* (Gag Law) or *Ley Anti-15M* (Anti-15-M Law) by those who oppose it, would fine "[i]ndividuals participating in demonstrations outside parliament" up to 600,000 euros, impose a fine of up to 30,000 euros on those found "[b]urning a national flag," and charge a maximum of 30,000 euros for "'offenses to Spain'" (*ofensas a España*) (e.g., "'offenses'" (*ofensas*) in the form of protest "'banners'" (*pancartas*) and "'slogans'" (*consignas*)).⁶⁶

⁶⁴ "'El Congreso Aprueba La 'Ley Corcuera' En Un Tenso Debate Que Concluyó En Abucheos,'" *El País*, November 15, 1991; Movimientos sociales, jueces y partidos denuncian en el Congreso los recortes de la 'ley mordaza,'" *El Mundo*, last modified March 27, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/03/27/5515509f22601db84b8b457d.html>; Rosa María Collado Martínez, "Bolsos de mano, cuchillos naranjeros y otras armas peligrosas," Abogacía Española, published March 26, 2015, <http://www.abogacia.es/2015/03/26/bolsos-de-mano-cuchillos-naranjeros-y-otras-armas-peligrosas/>; Jesús Duva, "La oposición ataca la ley que prevé multas a quien se manifieste ante el Congreso," *El País*, published November 19, 2013, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2013/11/19/actualidad/1384819985_742890.html.

⁶⁵ Miguel Ángel Presno Linera, "El Primer Anteproyecto de Ley Orgánica Para La Protección de La Seguridad Ciudadana," *Teoría Y Realidad Constitucional* no. 34 (2014): 270–271, <http://revistas.uned.es/index.php/TRC/article/view/14090/12668>.

⁶⁶ Juan Pablo Ordúñez Martínez, "Del Espacio Público a La Creación Pública: Recorrido Y Búsqueda Sobre El Concepto de Arte En El Espacio Público," *AusArt Journal for Research in Art* 2, no. 2 (2014): 160, <http://www.ehu.eus/ojs/index.php/ausart/article/view/14013/12407>; "Spain's New Security Law Sparks Protests Across Country" *The Guardian*, published December 20, 2014, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/20/spain-protests-security-law-parliament>; Irene Castro, "El Gobierno dice que la reforma de la Ley de Seguridad Ciudadana es solo un borrador," *Eldiario.es*, published November 19, 2013, http://www.eldiario.es/politica/Gobierno-Ley-Seguridad-Ciudadana-borrador_0_198431001.html; Carlos E. Cué, "El Gobierno crea una sanción de hasta 30.000 euros por 'ofensas a España,'" *El País*, published November 29, 2013, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2013/11/29/actualidad/1385720888_697122.html; Anahí Méndez, Martín Ariel Gendler, and Iván Cicchini, "¿Cambiano el sistema desde Internet? El devenir de los movimientos de

The 2013 draft bill was supported by the majority of Spanish conservatives, but was met with strong opposition by Spain's liberal parties, social activists, legal experts, and the European Union community, including the Council of Europe's human rights commissioner, Nils Muižnieks.⁶⁷ Opponents to the draft bill primarily argued against its approval on two grounds: 1) holding that a number of its “new infractions” (*nouvelles infractions*) were characterized by a “lack of clarity [that] raises strong concern” (*manque de précision [qui] soulève des inquiétudes*), potentially allowing for a more subjective interpretation and application of the law and 2) contending that the draft bill would “criminali[ze] conduct related to the enjoyment of the right to freedom of expression and peaceful assembly.”⁶⁸

As such, between 2013 and 2015, the draft bill underwent a series of revisions and modifications, before it was definitively passed with exclusively conservative votes on March 26, 2015.⁶⁹ The law will go into as of July 1, 2015, while its national border provisions related to

la Sociedad Red,” (paper presented at the Congreso PreAlas Patagonia, El Calafate, May 2014), 4-5, <http://www.aacademica.com/anahi.mendez/9>.

⁶⁷ Júlia Lladós Vila and Teresa Freixes, *The Impact of the Crisis on Fundamental Rights Across Member States of the EU Country Report on Spain*, ed. Policy Department (Brussels, Belgium: European Union, February 2015), 78, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/510019/IPOL_STU\(2015\)510019_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/STUD/2015/510019/IPOL_STU(2015)510019_EN.pdf); Janina Ruth, “‘Estamos hartos de los retrocesos del PP,’” *El Mundo*, last modified December 2, 2013, <http://www.elmundo.es/madrid/2013/11/29/5298f80161fd3dae428b4597.html>; “Parlamento – El foco parlamentario – Ley de seguridad ciudadana – 14/12/2013,” RTVE video, 5:37, posted by “RTVE,” December 14, 2013, <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/parlamento/parlamento-foco-parlamentario-ley-seguridad-ciudadana-14-12-2013/2237727/>; Esperanza Escribano Claramunt, “El Consejo de Europa considera que la ‘Ley Fernández’ es ‘desproporcionada,’” *El País*, published December 3, 2013, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2013/12/03/actualidad/1386070943_426348.html.

⁶⁸ Amane Gogorza and Marion Lacaze, “Chronique de Droit Espagnol,” *Revue Internationale de Droit Pénal* 84, no. 3 (2013): 517, doi:10.3917/ridp.843.0515; Lladós Vila and Freixes, *Impact of the Crisis*, 69; Emilio de Llera Suárez Bárcenas, “Seguridad ciudadana no es orden público,” *El País*, published December 17, 2013, http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2013/12/17/andalucia/1387295797_614436.html.

⁶⁹ Lladós Vila and Freixes, *Impact of the Crisis*, 79; Fernando Garea, “Toda la oposición acusa al PP de imponer un ‘Estado policial,’” *El País*, published March 27, 2015, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/03/26/actualidad/1427385689_379597.html; Alfonso Torices, “El PSOE impugnará ante el Constitucional la ‘ley mordaza,’” *La Voz de Galicia*, last modified March 28, 2015, http://www.lavozdegalicia.es/noticia/espana/2015/03/28/psoe-impugnara-ante-constitucional-ley-mordaza/0003_201503G28P24991.htm.

the Spain-Morocco border went into effect on April 1, 2015.⁷⁰ The approved 2015 version of *Ley Orgánica de Seguridad Ciudadana* has been “notably softened” (*notablemente suavizado*) since its original draft, however, the PSOE, the Spanish socialist party, protests that the approved version of the law continues to “criminalize dissidence” (*criminalizar la disidencia*) and has announced that it will file an appeal to the Constitutional Court of Spain; this political party has also promised that it “will repeal” (*la derogará*) the law if it wins governing majority in the next elections.⁷¹ Members of the international community also warn that, even with the amended version of the law, “almost every . . . kind of peaceful protest soon will be [illegal in Spain]” and suggest that the approved law has an “aroma of Francoism” (*au parfum de franquisme*).⁷²

On a public level, the passage of the Citizens’ Security Organic Law has been met with strong opposition by many Spaniards who argue that it stifles their basic freedoms of expression and association.⁷³ On April 10, 2015, such opposition was publicly expressed in an organized protest that took place in front of the Parliament building in Madrid, in an event coordinated by the Spanish platform *No Somos Delito* (We Are Not a Crime).⁷⁴ However, this protest differed

⁷⁰ “¿Cuándo entrará en vigor la prisión permanente y la ‘ley mordaza’?,” Europa Press, published March 31, 2015, <http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-cuando-entrara-vigor-prision-permanente-ley-mordaza-20150331134401.html>.

⁷¹ “El Senado aprueba la Ley de Seguridad Ciudadana, vetada por toda la oposición,” *La Vanguardia*, published March 12, 2015, <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20150312/54428100733/el-senado-aprueba-la-ley-de-seguridad-ciudadana-vetada-por-toda-la-oposicion.html>; “García-Page: El PSOE derogará la Ley Mordaza y buscará todos los consensos constitucionales para modernizar el país,” Partido Socialista Obrero Español, published December 14, 2014, <http://www.psoe.es/saladeprensa/pressnotes/763203/page/garcia-page-psoe-derogara-ley-mordaza-buscara-todos-los-consensos-constitucionales-para-modernizar-pais.html>; Torices, “El PSOE impugnará.”

⁷² “Spain’s Ominous Gag Law,” *The New York Times*, published April 22, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/04/23/opinion/spains-ominous-gag-law.html?_r=1; Pascal Priestley, “Espagne: une loi au parfum de franquisme,” TV5Monde, last modified July 18, 2014, <http://information.tv5monde.com/info/espagne-une-loi-au-parfum-de-franquisme-1969>.

⁷³ “La FIDH condena la ‘ley mordaza’ por atentar contra la libertad de expresión,” *ABC*, published March 31, 2015, <http://agencias.abc.es/agencias/noticia.asp?noticia=1831075>.

⁷⁴ “Spain’s Ominous Gag Law,” *The New York Times*. It should be noted that the *No Somos Delito* platform is comprised of over “100 different organizations,” including SOS Racismo (SOS Racism), Yayoflautas, and Greenpeace. Zachary Davies Boren, “Spain’s Hologram Protest: Thousands Join Virtual March in Madrid Against New Gag Law,” *The Independent*, published April 12, 2015, <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/spains-hologram-protest-thousands-join-virtual-march-in-madrid->

from previous protests held in Spain, as well as the rest of the world, due to its unique format. *No Somos Delito*'s protest, part of a campaign called "Hologramas Por La Libertad" (Holograms For Freedom), made history, becoming the world's first ever hologram protest.⁷⁵ In the protest, which had more than 18,000 participants, protestors' bodies, which had been "scanned" in advance of the event, were projected in three dimensions onto a seven-meter-long (23-foot-long) semitransparent surface, appearing as holograms at the scene of the protest.⁷⁶ In addition, the manifestation also featured audio recordings and slogans created by protestors, such as the chants "*pienso, luego soy delito*" (I think, therefore I am a crime) and "*Les da igual que vivas en la calle, pero no quieren que te expreses en la calle*" (They may not care if you live on the street, but they don't want you to express yourself on the street).⁷⁷ The event included two types of coexisting holograms: the holograms that enacted the protest and the holograms who served as the spokespeople for the *No Somos Delito* platform; the latter hologram type answered the media's questions in live time.⁷⁸

against-new-gag-law-10170650.html; Carlos Córroba Vallet, "Hologramas contra la 'ley mordaza,'" *El País*, published April 11, 2015, http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2015/04/10/madrid/1428698276_149818.html.

⁷⁵ Alba V., "Una manifestación de hologramas: El colmo de las #LeyesMordaza," *No Somos Delito*, published April 1, 2015, <http://nosomosdelito.net/article/2015/04/01/una-manifestacion-de-hologramas-el-colmo-de-las-leyesmordaza>; "Miles de hologramas 'protestan' contra la 'ley mordaza' en Madrid," *La Vanguardia*, last modified April 11, 2015, <http://www.lavanguardia.com/vida/20150411/54429548237/miles-hologramas-protestan-contra-ley-mordaza.html>.

⁷⁶ Rodrigo Carretero, "Madrid acoge la primera manifestación de hologramas en protesta por la 'Ley Mordaza,'" *El Huffington Post*, last modified April 10, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.es/2015/04/10/manifestacion-hologramas_n_7039782.html; "Manifestación de hologramas contra la 'Ley Mordaza' en el Congreso," *La Rioja*, published April 11, 2015, <http://www.larioja.com/nacional/201504/11/manifestacion-hologramas-contra-mordaza-20150410234513-rc.html>. The hologram protest had participants from around the world, including: Spain, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Italy, France, Belgium, the United Kingdom, the United States, the Netherlands, Germany, and Russia. V., "Una manifestación de hologramas."

⁷⁷ "Manifestación de hologramas contra la 'Ley Mordaza' en el Congreso," *Diario Sur*, published April 11, 2015, <http://www.diariosur.es/nacional/201504/11/manifestacion-hologramas-contra-mordaza-20150410234513-rc.html>.

⁷⁸ Carlos Escaño, Twitter post, April 10, 2015, 11:58 a.m., <https://twitter.com/Soligato/status/586604183371042816>; Carretero, "Madrid acoge la primera manifestación."

According to the manifestation's organizers, a protest by hologram "was the only way of protesting without being fined" under the new law.⁷⁹ Alba Villanueva, spokesperson for *Nos Somos Delito*, explains with light irony that the protest was intended to: "*narrar un futuro surrealista en el que para manifestarnos tendremos que 'descarnarnos' y convertirnos en una sociedad ficticia, en formas de luz en tres dimensiones (hologramas)*" ("narrate a surreal future where, in order to protest, we will have to 'leave our skins' and turn into a fictitious society, in three-dimensional light forms (holograms)").⁸⁰ While acknowledging the real threat of the Citizens' Security Organic Law (*Ley Mordaza*), *Nos Somos Delito* remains determined to protect the basic freedoms of Spaniards, proclaiming:

[N]o hay ley que pueda silenciarnos, ni encerrarnos en nuestras casas. Siempre encontraremos el modo de salir a la calle y expresarnos, ¡siempre! . . . porque el derecho a la protesta se defiende protestando (No law can silence us, nor lock us up in our homes. We will always find a way to reach the streets and express ourselves. Always! . . . because the right to protest is defended by protesting).⁸¹

The following section will examine the origins and swift ascension of the *Podemos* political party in Spain, an exercise that promises to shed light on this new political formation, which is viewed by some as a descendant of 15-M.

⁷⁹ Gareth Platt and Marc Vargas, "Spanish hologram protesters: 'Virtual reality demo was our only option,'" *International Business Times*, published April 15, 2015, <http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/spanish-hologram-protesters-virtual-reality-demo-was-our-only-option-we-wont-repeat-it-1496552>.

⁸⁰ "Manifestación de hologramas," *La Rioja*.

⁸¹ "Manifiesto No Somos Delito," Youtube video, 1:36, posted by "Nosomos Delito," April 14, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kgD4Qi2eEUA&feature=youtu.be>.

5.2.2 The Meteoric Rise of *Podemos*

In 2014, after over six years of social, political, and economic hardships, a new political party emerged in Spain, called “*Podemos*” (We can).⁸² On January 17, 2014, *Podemos* presented itself for the first time to the Spanish public in the Madrilian working-class district of Lavapiés, in an inauguration that attracted only minimal media attention.⁸³ At this event, *Podemos*, composed primarily of university professors, journalists, and social activists, announced its first goal as a political party: to present its candidacy for the European Parliamentary elections that were to be held in May of the same year (i.e., four months following the formation of *Podemos*).⁸⁴ As a political force, *Podemos* stated that their objective was to transform Spaniards’ “‘indignation into [real] political change.’”⁸⁵

Within four months, *Podemos*, a political party that seemed to have “appeared from nowhere,” became the fourth-most voted Spanish political party in the May 2014 European Parliamentary elections, winning five seats in European Parliament, or 7.98 percent of the votes.⁸⁶ After this significant victory, *Podemos* revealed its plans to compete in Spain’s general

⁸² José M. Pavía, Anselm Bodoque, and Joaquín Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane in the Spanish Crisis of Trust: Analysis and Characterization,” (paper presented at the Citizens, Parties and Political Action: Political Participation and the General Election 2015 Conference, Nottingham, February 2015), 3, http://www.uv.es/aplicada/SeminariosDepartamento/Documento_04-03-2015.pdf.

⁸³ Sara Bardenas, “Podemos, El Partido Que Revoluciona a España, Cumple Un Año,” *La Tercera*, January 22, 2015, 22, <http://diario.latercera.com/2015/01/20/01/contenido/mundo/8-182011-9-podemos-el-partido-que-revoluciona-a-espana-cumple-un-ano.shtml>; Iván Gil, “El año de Podemos: de planear el asalto a Izquierda Unida a mirar hacia la Moncloa,” *El Confidencial*, published December 27, 2014, http://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2014-12-27/el-ano-de-podemos-de-planear-el-asalto-a-izquierda-unida-a-mirar-hacia-la-moncloa_600224/.

⁸⁴ Gil, “El año de Podemos”; Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 3.

⁸⁵ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 3.

⁸⁶ Ruth Simsa, *The Social Situation in Spain and the Spanish Protest Movement: The EU Needs Dialogue and Immediate Corrective Action* (Vienna, Austria: ÖGfE Policy Brief, January 22, 2015), 4, http://oegfe.at/cms/uploads/media/OEGfE_Policy_Brief-2015.02_01.pdf; Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 3-4; John Postill, “Field theory, media change and the new citizen movements: the case of Spain’s ‘real democracy turn’, 2011-2014” *Mediterranean Politics* (forthcoming): 13, https://www.academia.edu/11286950/Field_theory_media_change_and_the_new_citizen_movements_Spain_s_real_democracy_turn_2011-2014.

elections that are set to take place between late 2015 and early 2016.⁸⁷ A number of 2015 political polls rank *Podemos* as “one of the three main parties [in Spain],” now sharing the political stage with the *Partido Popular* (conservatives) and the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (socialists).⁸⁸ Moreover, several polls even indicate that *Podemos* “has good chances to be the strongest party in the next general elections [in Spain].”⁸⁹

5.2.2.1 *Podemos’ Connection to 15-M*

Immediately following *Podemos’* emergence into Spanish politics, a number of Spanish and international journalists and scholars quickly labeled the political party as: “the 15-M ‘ticket’ [to European Parliamentary elections],” “*15mayistas*” (15th of May-ists), “inspired by 15-M,” “‘15-M style,’” “rooted in... 15-M,” “[of the] seed of [15-M]” ([*del*] *germen de*[I] [15-M]), “[having] close . . . origins to 15-M” ([*teniendo*] *orígenes . . . cercanos al 15-M*), and “[having 15-M’s] DNA” ([*avendo*] *il DNA [del 15-M]*).⁹⁰ In response to its ties to 15-M, *Podemos* has stated: “[a]nyone who says the [*Podemos*] represents 15M is a ‘snake oil’ salesman” ([*q*] *uien diga que*

⁸⁷ Ignacio Pérez Santos, “España En Elecciones,” *Más Poder Local* no. 22 (2015): 20, <http://www.maspoderlocal.es/portfolio/cultura-politica-y-comunicacion-en-la-sociedad-moderna-no22/>; “El calendario electoral de 2015,” *El Mundo*, last modified May 25, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/01/14/54b6d550e2704e4a4c8b457a.html>.

⁸⁸ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 3; Carmen del Riego, “Podemos se sitúa como segunda fuerza política por delante del PSOE, según el CIS,” *La Vanguardia*, last modified February 5, 2015, <http://www.lavanguardia.com/politica/20150204/54425818079/podemos-segunda-fuerza-politica-psoe-cis.html>.

⁸⁹ Simsa, *Social Situation in Spain*, 4; “Podemos saca ya siete puntos al PP y nueve al PSOE, según una encuesta,” *El Confidencial*, published February 8, 2015, http://www.elconfidencial.com/elecciones-generales/2015-02-08/podemos-saca-ya-siete-puntos-al-pp-y-nueve-al-psoe-segun-una-encuesta_704855/; “Podemos sería la primera fuerza política si se celebraran elecciones,” *El País*, published January 9, 2015, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/01/09/actualidad/1420795467_727051.html.

⁹⁰ Cristina Flesher Fominaya, “Debunking Spontaneity: Spain’s 15-M/Indignados as Autonomous Movement,” *Social Movement Studies* 14, no. 2 (2015): 156, doi:10.1080/14742837.2014.945075; Raquel Montenegro Huelva, “Podemos regresa a las plazas,” *Huelva Información*, last modified March 17, 2015, <http://www.huelvainformacion.es/article/huelva/1985994/podemos/regresa/las/plazas.html>; Álvaro Carvajal, “Madrid y Aragón retan a Iglesias,” *El Mundo*, last modified February 13, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/02/13/54dd56ca22601d7f728b4572.html>; Steven Forti, “Podemos, la Spagna in marcia per il cambiamento,” *la Repubblica*, February 2, 2015, <http://temi.repubblica.it/micromega-online/podemos-la-spagna-in-marcia-per-il-cambiamento/?printpage=undefined>; Cristina Flesher Forminaya, “‘Spain is different’: Podemos and 15-M,” *openDemocracy*, published May 29, 2014, <https://www.opendemocracy.net/can-europe-make-it/cristina-flesher-fominaya/%E2%80%9Cspain-is-different%E2%80%9D-podemos-and-15m>; Postill, “Field theory, media change,” 13.

[*Podemos*] *representa al 15M es un vendedor de ‘crece pelo’*) (May 2014); “[i]f 15M was dead, why then are we [*Podemos*] here?” ([*s*] *i el 15M estaba muerto, ¿por qué estamos aquí nosotros [Podemos]?*) (May 2014); and “[*Podemos*] come[s] from 15-M but . . . [is] not 15-M” ([*Podemos viene*] *del 15-M pero no . . . [es] el 15-M*) (December 2014).⁹¹ *Podemos*’ responses neither confirm, nor reject the idea of the party having a *direct* connection to 15-M and allow one to presume the existence of, at the very least, a vague union between the two entities.

A number of academics, activists, and journalists have challenged *Podemos*’ connection to 15-M on ideological, organizational, and political grounds. Spanish political journalist Arturo Puente argues that *Podemos*’ ideology is dissimilar to that of 15-M and contends that *Podemos*, in reality, is “quite the opposite [of 15-M]” (*todo lo contrario [del 15-M]*).⁹² However, Puente believes that *Podemos* has managed to “charg[e] itself... with the symbolic power of the social struggles that preceded it [e.g., 15-M]” (*carga[rse]... del poder simbólico que tenían las luchas anteriores a ellos [p.ej., el 15-M]*).⁹³ 15-M participant and musician Xabel Vegas asserts that “[t]he connection between *Podemos* and 15M is simply meaningless talk” ([*l*] *a vinculación de Podemos con el 15M es sencillamente literatura*) and adds that “15M [had an] . . . allergy to leadership and . . . [an] express refusal to participate in an electoral process under the acronym of a particular political party . . . *Podemos* [is vying to become part of] . . . the political institutions at which the indignados used to yell ‘no nos representan’ [they don’t represent us]” (*El 15M*

⁹¹ Esperanza Buitrago, “Pablo Iglesias: ‘Es un escándalo que en este país haya gente con empleo que es pobre’” Cuatro, published May 19, 2014, http://www.cuatro.com/noticias/europeas2014/Pablo-Iglesias-escandalo-gente-empleo_0_1795500397.html; Arturo Puente, “Podemos y el repliegue del 15M,” *Eldiario.es*, published May 27, 2014, http://www.eldiario.es/zonacritica/Podemos-repliegue_6_264633561.html; “Monedero (Podemos): ‘Venimos del 15-M pero no somos el 15-M, somos la politización de sus argumentos,’” Europa Press, published December 14, 2014, <http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-monedero-podemos-venimos-15-no-somos-15-somos-politizacion-argumentos-20141214135257.html>.

⁹² Javier Gracia Sanchis, “Internet y las nuevas tecnologías, cruciales en los procesos de movilización social,” *uValencia.info*, published December 6, 2014, <http://www.uvalencia.info/2014/12/06/internet-y-las-nuevas-tecnologias-cruciales-en-los-procesos-de-movilizacion-social/>.

⁹³ “CCDCV VI - De la movilización social a la movilización política,” Youtube video, 1:59:13, posted by “Jesús del Ramo Juste,” January 28, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o2uovfi0iOc&t=4167>.

[tenía una] . . . alergia a los liderazgos y . . . [una] negativa expresa a participar en un proceso electoral bajo unas siglas determinadas . . . Podemos [lucha por formar parte de] . . . unas instituciones políticas a las que los indignados gritaban aquello de 'no nos representan').⁹⁴

In addition, Spanish university professor and journalist Toño Fraguas notes: “many people who actively and committedly participated in 15-M do not see themselves represented by Podemos and even less in the [party's] public meeting format of worshiping its leader [Pablo Iglesias] . . . which sickens the very essence of 15-M. Of all of the attempts to capitalize and politically profit from 15-M, this is one of the grossest I can recall” (*mucha gente que participó activa y comprometidamente en el 15-M no se ve representada en Podemos y mucho menos con el formato de mitin [del partido] de culto al líder [Pablo Iglesias] . . . que repugna a la esencia misma del 15-M. De todos los intentos de capitalizar y rentabilizar políticamente el 15-M, éste es de los más burdos que recuerdo*).⁹⁵ Fraguas’ comments appear to allude to Podemos’ organizational decision to structure the party “under the figure of a secretary-general [i.e., Pablo Iglesias]” (*bajo la figura de un secretario general [es decir, Pablo Iglesias]*) and opt for “a vertical [power] structure” (*une structure verticale [de pouvoir]*), which has been described Spanish journalist Iván Gil as “[n]othing further from 15M’s philosophy” (*[n]ada más lejos de la filosofía del 15M*), which is based on *complete* horizontality, a “plurality of ideas” (*pluralidad de ideas*), and “deliberative democracy” (*democracia deliberativa*).⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Xabel Vegas, “Las debilidades del movimiento del 15-M,” Batura: Blog de Xabel Vegas, published May 25, 2011, <https://xabelvegas.wordpress.com/2011/05/25/las-debilidades-del-movimiento-del-15-m/>; Xabel Vegas, “Por qué no Podemos,” *Público*, published February 17, 2014, <http://blogs.publico.es/xabel-vegas/2014/02/17/por-que-no-podemos/>.

⁹⁵ “Presentan: Castro y Fraguas,” Campus de Gandia – Universitat Politècnica de València, published January 26, 2015, <http://www.comunica2gandia.com/castro-fraguas/>; Toño Fraguas, “Los errores del discurso de Pablo Iglesias en Sol,” *La Marea*, published February 3, 2015, <http://www.lamarea.com/2015/02/03/los-errores-del-discurso-de-pablo-iglesias-en-sol/>.

⁹⁶ Iván Gil, “Pablo Iglesias apuesta su liderazgo al todo o nada, alejándose de la filosofía del 15M,” *El Confidencial*, published October 20, 2014, http://www.elconfidencial.com/espana/2014-10-20/pablo-iglesias-apuesta-su-liderazgo-al-todo-o-nada-alejandose-de-la-philosofia-del-15m_332536/; Isabelle Piquer, “La vague

Some critics of *Podemos* suggest that the political party discursively pays lip service to 15-M and its concerns in an effort to gain the votes of Spaniards who feel disenfranchised. Asis Timermans, professor and author of *¿Podemos?*, a book that aims to examine and explain the so-called “*fenómeno Podemos*” (*Podemos* phenomenon), describes *Podemos*’ connection to 15-M as purely discursive.⁹⁷ Timermans, as well as Spanish scholar Ramy Abou-Assali Martínez, argue that, in reality, 15-M “caught [*Podemos*’ founders and Pablo Iglesias] by surprise, but . . . [Pablo Iglesias] knew how to read it” (*les cogió [a los fundadores de Podemos y a Pablo Iglesias] de sorpresa, pero . . . [Pablo Iglesias] supo leerlo*).⁹⁸ Timermans and Abou-Assali Martínez maintain that Iglesias, who aimed to “mainstream” radical leftist politics in Spain, deliberately appealed to many of 15-M’s social concerns by quickly “incorporat[ing] . . . the frustrated demands of the [indignant] Spanish [into *Podemos*’ discourse]” (*incorpora[ndo] . . . las demandas frustradas de los españoles [indignados al discurso de Podemos]*), thereby illustrating the relevance of electing a rebranded far-left political party into office.⁹⁹ However, Timermans cautions that *Podemos*’ answers to the complex social problems that affect Spain are “simple and demagogic” (*simples y demagógicas*): “[W]hat are we going to do about that housing problem? Give everyone a house” (*¿[Q]ué vamos a hacer con respecto a ese problema de vivienda? Darle vivienda a todos*).¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, Timermans recognizes that *Podemos*’

Podemos,” *Le Monde*, last modified January 23, 2015, http://www.lemonde.fr/international/article/2014/12/25/la-vague-podemos_4546160_3210.html.

⁹⁷ “¿Podemos?,” *Última Línea*, accessed March 9, 2015, <http://ultimalinea.es/producto/podemos/>; Inmaculada Cobo, “La marcha de Podemos, a debate,” *El Mundo*, last modified January 31, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/el-mundo-tv/2015/01/31/54cd1076e2704e13288b4587.html>; “Asis Timermans, autor de ‘¿Podemos?’. 6-11-2014,” Youtube video, 24:11, posted by “periodistadigital,” November 7, 2014, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=leSjc2PdH_8.

⁹⁸ Cobo, “La marcha de Podemos”; Periodistadigital, “Asis Timermans”; Ramy Abou-Assali Martínez, “Las Claves de La Comunicación Política de Podemos,” *Más Poder Local* no. 23 (2015): 40–41; 43–44, <http://www.maspoderlocal.es/files/articulos/210-F55421c9b2101430396059-articulo-1.pdf>.

⁹⁹ Periodistadigital, “Asis Timermans”; Abou-Assali Martínez, “Las Claves,” 40–44.

¹⁰⁰ Cobo, “La marcha de Podemos”; Periodistadigital, “Asis Timermans”; “Asis Timermans: ‘En el PP siguen convencidos de que Podemos les beneficia,’” *Periodista Digital*, published November 7, 2014, <http://www.periodistadigital.com/politica/partidos-politicos/2014/11/07/asis-timermans-podemos-pablo-iglesias->

solutions to such problems can be particularly persuasive to many Spaniards who are “truly fearful of their future . . . and that of their children” (*realmente temerosas de su futuro . . . y el de sus hijos*), amid a difficult social reality.¹⁰¹

5.2.2.2 The Shared History of *Podemos*’ Top Members: An Alternative Inspiration?

Although many view *Podemos*’ formation in Spain as a recent, spontaneous phenomenon that is a result of 15-M and its socio-political legacy, in reality, many of the current top leaders of *Podemos* — including Pablo Iglesias (Secretary-General [first-tier position]), Juan Carlos Monedero (Citizens’ Council member [second-tier position]), Íñigo Errejón (Citizens’ Council member [second-tier position]), Carolina Bescansa (Citizens’ Council member [second-tier position]), and Luis Alegre Zahonero (Citizens’ Council member [second-tier position]) — have a shared history of experiences, collaboration, and acquaintanceship, spanning years prior to May 15, 2011.¹⁰² The aforementioned members of *Podemos*, among the party’s most powerful

monedero-pp-psoe-libro.shtml; Federico Castaño, “Podemos quiere destinar a vivienda social los 50.000 millones del banco malo a costa del contribuyente,” *Vozpópuli*, published February 10, 2015, <http://vozpopuli.com/economia-y-finanzas/57265-podemos-quiere-destinar-a-vivienda-social-los-50-000-millones-del-banco-malo-a-costa-del-contribuyente>; Ricardo T. Lucas, “Las 10 claves del programa económico de Podemos,” *Expansión*, published November 3, 2014, <http://www.expansion.com/2014/11/03/economia/1415050458.html>; Pablo Ramos, “¿Qué papel juega la vivienda en el programa económico de Podemos?,” *El Mundo*, last modified November 28, 2014, <http://www.elmundo.es/economia/2014/11/28/5478754a22601d75378b4581.html>.

¹⁰¹ Periodistadigital, “Asis Timermans.”

¹⁰² Pavia, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 7; Javier Chicote, “Venezuela paga la vida de lujo en Caracas de los asesores de Podemos,” *ABC*, published February 17, 2015, <http://www.abc.es/espana/20150216/abci-venezuela-asesores-podemos-201502161019.html>; “Pablo Iglesias es proclamado secretario general de Podemos tras obtener el 88,6% de los votos,” Europa Press, published November 15, 2014, <http://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-pablo-iglesias-proclamado-secretario-general-podemos-obtener-886-votos-20141115122133.html>; “Cargos Internos,” Podemos, accessed March 8, 2015, <http://transparencia.podemos.info/cargos-internos/>. On April 30, 2015, Juan Carlos Monedero resigned of his own accord from his position as “number three” (*número tres*) of *Podemos*, citing a desire to “push with much greater force” (*empujar con mucha más fuerza*). “Dimisión de Monedero: últimas noticias,” *El País*, published May 1, 2015, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2015/04/30/actualidad/1430411081_969345.html; “Monedero dice que sale de la dirección de Podemos para ‘empujar con más fuerza,’” *Heraldo de Aragón*, last modified May 1, 2015, http://www.heraldo.es/noticias/nacional/2015/05/01/monedero_dice_que_sale_direccion_podemos_para_empujar_c_on_mas_fuerza_357839_305.html. In spite of Monedero’s departure from his position of leadership, *Podemos* has assured that Monedero will “remain in Podemos and work for its success” (*sigue en Podemos y trabajando para su éxito*). “Urbán: Lo bueno de Monedero es que sigue en Podemos y trabajando por su éxito,” *Eldiario.es*, published May 4, 2015, http://www.eldiario.es/politica/Urban-Monedero-Podemos-trabajando-exito_0_384262445.html.

and recognizable figures, were all members of the Complutense University of Madrid's community and worked for the Fundación Centro de Estudios Políticos y Sociales (CEPS) [Foundation Center for Political and Social Studies].¹⁰³ At the Complutense University of Madrid, Pablo Iglesias and Juan Carlos Monedero taught Political Science courses, Íñigo Errejón studied Political Science, Carolina Bescansa taught courses in Methodology, and Luis Alegre Zahonero was a professor of Philosophy.¹⁰⁴

The work the aforementioned members of *Podemos* performed through the the Fundación Centro de Estudios Políticos y Sociales (CEPS) is credited by some as the true beginning and inspiration of what would later become *Podemos*, a source of inspiration that would pre-date 15-M by nearly six years.¹⁰⁵ CEPS, founded in 1993 by a group of university professors from the

Although much doubt surrounds Monedero's future role in the political party, his importance to *Podemos* remains unequivocal, given that, following Monedero's resignation, Pablo Iglesias stated: "We need his critical capacity" (*Necesitamos su capacidad crítica*). "Iglesias: La dimisión de Monedero no nos restará votos," *ABC*, published May 3, 2015, <http://www.abc.es/espana/20150501/abci-iglesias-dimision-monedero-restara-201505011117.html>. Monedero has predicted that he will be given "a new task" (*una nueva tarea*) in *Podemos* that will be "no less engaged" ("*no menos comprometido*") than the position he previously held. Esther Mucientes, "Monedero recula tras su dimisión: 'Las convicciones de Podemos no se han movido. Siguen firmes,'" *El Mundo*, last modified May 1, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/05/01/55433da6e2704e3e458b4571.html>. *Podemos*, for its part, has announced that "it is in no hurry" (*no hay prisa*) to fill Monedero's vacant position in the political party. Miriam Muro, "'Alivio' en Podemos por la marcha de Monedero," *Libertad Digital*, published May 4, 2015, <http://www.libertaddigital.com/espana/2015-05-04/alivio-en-podemos-por-la-marcha-de-monedero-1276547147/>. In light of Monedero's crucial role in *Podemos* and the uncertainty that envelops his future position — Monedero could be entrusted with a new post or, alternatively, return to his previous position *voluntarily* at a later date — the present study will continue to associate Monedero with the rank he has held in *Podemos* until recently.

¹⁰³ Pavia, Bodoque, and Martín, "Podemos, a Hurricane," 7-8; *Podemos*, "Cargos Internos"; Chicote, "Venezuela paga la vida."

¹⁰⁴ Pilar Álvarez, "La Complutense ofrece a Iglesias un puesto honorífico," *El País*, published July 12, 2014, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2014/07/12/actualidad/1405195799_065474.html; "Los 62 de Podemos," *El País*, published November 16, 2014, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2014/11/15/actualidad/1416083204_351563.html; "Íñigo Errejón llega a la UNLa, donde será distinguido como Profesor Honorario," Universidad Nacional de Lanús, accessed March 15, 2015, <http://www.unla.edu.ar/index.php/noticias/199-novedades-destacadas/2840-inigo-erregon-llega-a-la-unla-donde-sera-distinguido-como-profesor-honorario>.

¹⁰⁵ Pavia, Bodoque, and Martín, "Podemos, a Hurricane," 7-8; "La oposición vincula a la cúpula de Podemos con el cobro en Venezuela de 3,5 millones en ocho años," *Periodista Digital*, published March 2, 2015, <http://www.periodistadigital.com/america/economia/2015/03/02/la-oposicion-vincula-a-la-cupula-de-podemos-con-el-cobro-en-venezuela-de-3-5-millones-en-ocho-anos.shtml>; J. Ch., "CEPS, la fundación de Iglesias, Errejón, Bescansa y Alegre," *ABC*, published February 16, 2015, <http://www.abc.es/espana/20150216/abci-ceps-fundacion-iglesias-erregon-201502161109.html>; Francisco Mercado, "La fundación relacionada con Podemos cobró 3,7 millones de Chávez en 10 años," *El País*, published June 17, 2014, http://politica.elpais.com/politica/2014/06/17/actualidad/1403039351_862188.html; David Román, "How Hugo

University of Valencia, describes itself as “a political, nonpartisan organization dedicated to the production of critical thought and cultural and intellectual work to encourage left-wing agreements” (*una organización política no partidaria dedicada a la producción de pensamiento crítico y al trabajo cultural e intelectual para fomentar consensos de izquierdas*).¹⁰⁶ As an organization, CEPS offers political, economic, and legal assistance to political entities and is recognized in Spain as a group that has a “markedly leftist orientation, with operations in Latin America and, most notably, Venezuela” (*marcada orientación izquierdista, con actuación en Latinoamérica y muy singularmente en Venezuela*).¹⁰⁷ To illustrate, in recent years CEPS has been retained for its political, legal, and economic services by Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, El Salvador, and Cuba and has helped prepare the constitutions of Venezuela (1999), Bolivia (2006-2007), and Ecuador (1998, 2007-2008).¹⁰⁸

Chavez Helped Inspire Spain’s Far-Left Podemos Movement,” *The Wall Street Journal*, published February 26, 2015, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/how-venezuelas-chavez-lives-on-in-spain-1425000737>; Jorge M. Reverte, “Maduro o Dudamel,” *El País*, published March 22, 2015, http://elpais.com/elpais/2015/03/20/opinion/1426867500_664869.html; Inma Lidón, “Si Podemos gobierna, me voy de España,” *El Mundo*, last modified December 8, 2014, <http://www.elmundo.es/comunidad-valenciana/2014/12/08/54856b38268e3e4a088b456c.html>; “WSJ ve la sombra de Chávez en Podemos,” *Te Interesa*, published February 27, 2015, http://www.teinteresa.es/mundo/WSJ-ve-sombra-Chavez-Podemos_0_1311468950.html; “Los padres ideológicos de Podemos,” *El Diario Vasco*, published March 8, 2015, <http://www.diariovasco.com/politica/201503/08/padres-ideologicos-podemos-201503080729.html>.

¹⁰⁶ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 7; Estela Martínez Suero, “El oficio de cambiar gobiernos,” *El País*, published June 1, 2008, http://elpais.com/diario/2008/06/01/paisvasco/1212349207_850215.html; “¿Qué es la Fundación CEPS?,” Fundación CEPS, accessed March 15, 2015, http://www.ceps.es/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=45:ique-es-la-fundacion-ceps&catid=35:somos&Itemid=60.

¹⁰⁷ Mercado, “La fundación relacionada”; Emili J. Blasco, “El Chavismo Diseñó Desde El Comienzo Ocultar La Verdad Sobre La Enfermedad,” *ABC Córdoba*, January 13, 2013. For an intriguing account of the current socio-political climate of Venezuela and its parallels with the nation’s colonial past, see, Molly A. Warsh, “From Pearls to Oil: Venezuela’s Long History of Boom-and-Bust,” *The Conversation*, published March 6, 2014, <https://theconversation.com/from-pearls-to-oil-venezuelas-long-history-of-boom-and-bust-24049>.

¹⁰⁸ Ch., “CEPS, la fundación de Iglesias”; Juan Claudio Lechín, “Los patrocinadores de Pablo Iglesias,” *Perú.21*, published November 22, 2014, <http://peru21.pe/opinion/patrocinadores-pablo-iglesias-2204653>; “Una fundación valenciana nutre de ideas a los gobiernos socialistas de Latinoamérica,” *Levante-EMV*, published June 19, 2014, <http://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2014/06/19/fundacion-valenciana-nutre-ideas-gobiernos/1127279.html>; Arturo García, “La izquierda colaboró con las expropiaciones,” *La Gaceta*, published June 20, 2014, <http://www.gaceta.es/noticias/fundacion-izquierdas-ayudo-expropiaciones-americanas-20062014-1047>; E. Morales and J. Molina, “Una fundación española de izquierdas, tras las Constituciones expropiadoras de

According to CEPS, between 2004 and 2012, “more than 60% of its income” came from the Government of Venezuela, a country wherein “the CEPS foundation and its team became an extension of the governmental network of president Hugo Chávez.”¹⁰⁹ From 2006 to 2008, Pablo Iglesias worked in Venezuela through CEPS and where he was, per Iglesias’ own description, “responsible for strategic analysis to the presidency of Venezuela with the CEPS foundation” (*responsable de análisis estratégico de la presidencia de Venezuela con la fundación CEPS*).¹¹⁰ Also in Venezuela, Íñigo Errejón and Carolina Bescansa were given research positions at the Grupo de Investigación Social XXI (21st Social Research Group), which was a “poll research group founded by... [a number of] Hugo Chávez’s ex-ministers.”¹¹¹

Juan Carlos Monedero has been described by *El País* reporter Rafael Fraguas as “perhaps the Spaniard who most closely and for the longest duration of time, almost a decade, dealt with Venezuelan president [Hugo Chávez]” (*quizá el español que más de cerca y durante más tiempo, casi una década, ha tratado al presidente venezolano [Hugo Chávez]*), working for the Venezuelan leader until the president’s death in 2013.¹¹² Monedero began providing political counsel to President Chávez in 2004 and, in 2005, founded the Centro Internacional Miranda (International Miranda Center) in Caracas, Venezuela, with the objective of “encouraging consciousness of the Bolivian revolution.”¹¹³ Luis Alegre Zahonero also assisted the Venezuelan government through CEPS and, in 2010, was given the Government-sponsored *Premio*

Iberoamérica,” *La Gaceta*, published May 6, 2012, <http://www.gaceta.es/noticias/una-fundacion-espanola-de-izquierdas-tras-las-constituciones-expropiadoras-de-iberoamerica-06052012-0814.html>.

¹⁰⁹ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 7; Román, “How Hugo Chavez Helped Inspire.”

¹¹⁰ Mercado, “La fundación relacionada.”

¹¹¹ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 7.

¹¹² Rafael Fraguas, “Hugo Chávez nos enseñó a respetar a América Latina,” *El País*, published March 6, 2013, http://internacional.elpais.com/internacional/2013/03/06/actualidad/1362593920_268703.html.

¹¹³ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 7; Rodolfo Ullate, “Los doce trabajos de ‘Hércules’ Monedero (bien pagados...),” *El Mundo*, last modified February 1, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/cronica/2015/02/01/54cca80b22601dbf388b456e.html>.

Libertador al Pensamiento Crítico (Liberator of Critical Thought Award) of 150,000 United States Dollars by now-President Nicolás Maduro.¹¹⁴

5.2.2.3 *Podemos'* Political Agenda

Within the Spanish context, *Podemos* proposes to create a “new order” (*orden nuevo*) through “giv[ing] priority to the interests, wishes, and needs of the majority, above the interests of the socially dominant Caste and the political and left-wing workers’ union castes” (*da[ndo] prioridad a los intereses, deseos y necesidades de la mayoría frente a los intereses de la Casta socialmente dominante y de las castas políticas y sindicales de la izquierda*).¹¹⁵ *Podemos* argues that Spain’s primary problem is that its political and economic elites have “‘kidnapped’ public holdings in order to usufruct them in their favor” (*‘secuestrado’ lo público para usufructuarlo en su favor*) and contends that the solution to this situation is to “empower the ‘people’ in order to recover their sovereignty” (*empoderar al ‘pueblo’ para recuperar su soberanía*).¹¹⁶ *Podemos* believes the “people” can only become empowered through “egalitarian policies in economics and participation” (*políticas igualitarias en lo económico y en lo participativo*).¹¹⁷ Moreover, *Podemos* presents itself as a fresh alternative to long-standing bipartisanship in Spain.¹¹⁸ When

¹¹⁴ Andrea Mingorance, “Podemos desvincula el pago de Venezuela a Iglesias o Errejón con la financiación del partido,” *Diariocrítico*, published March 2, 2015, <http://www.diariocritico.com/nacional/venezuela/podemos/pablo-iglesias/inigo-errejon/luis-alegre/tania-gonzalez/473779>; Javier Chicote, “La fundación CEPS sacaba divisas en un mes y los empresarios españoles tardaban tres años,” *ABC*, published February 19, 2015, <http://www.abc.es/espana/20150218/abci-chavez-priorizo-pagos-201502172154.html>; “Venezuela pagó 3,5 millones a la cúpula de Podemos en ocho años,” *El Mundo*, last modified March 2, 2015, <http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2015/03/02/54f3b936ca4741b91f8b4578.html>; “Españoles Fernández Liria y Alegre ganaron el premio al pensamiento crítico en Venezuela,” *Noticias 24*, published December 6, 2011, <http://www.noticias24.com/venezuela/noticia/42482/espanoles-fernandez-liria-y-alegrepremio-al-pensamiento-critico-en-venezuela/>.

¹¹⁵ Fernando Golvano, “El Laberinto Democrático: Izquierdas, Populismos Y Hegemonía,” *Grand Place* no. 2 (2014): 23; Javier Franzé, “Podemos, entre el populismo y la renovación socialdemócrata,” *Clarín*, published December 5, 2014, http://www.clarin.com/opinion/Podemos-izquierda-populismo-Espana_0_1261673919.html.

¹¹⁶ Franzé, “Podemos, entre el populismo.”

¹¹⁷ Franzé, “Podemos, entre el populismo.”

¹¹⁸ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, “Podemos, a Hurricane,” 2.

classifying *Podemos*' location on the politico-ideological spectrum, Iglesias stated in January 2014: "I am not from the left, nor the right [] we are not ambiguous, we know where we come from, who our people are, and with whom we stand" (*yo no soy de izquierdas, ni de derechas [] nosotros no somos ambiguos, sabemos de dónde venimos, sabemos quién es nuestra gente y sabemos con quién estamos*).¹¹⁹

Spanish university professor Fernando Golvano classifies *Podemos* as "how to deny it, left-wing populists" (*cómo negarlo, populistas de izquierda*) and explains that the political party's "ambiguity" (*ambigüedad*) about its political orientation stems from its "determination to widen its social base and occupy a new political centrality [within Spain]" (*su empeño por ampliar su base social y ocupar una nueva centralidad política [en España]*).¹²⁰ Legal scholars José Pavía, Anselm Bodoque, and Joaquín Martín note that *Podemos*' political strategy thus far has been to "denounc[e] *la casta* [the Caste] as being corrupt and incapable of solving the problems of Spain, [while] refusing to be drawn into any other debate – such as abortion or territorial debates [e.g., Catalan independence]".¹²¹ Spanish journalist Santos Juliá holds that *Podemos*' "first success" (*primer acierto*) was giving its political enemy a name: *la casta* (the Caste).¹²²

¹¹⁹ Golvano, "El Laberinto Democrático," 25.

¹²⁰ Golvano, "El Laberinto Democrático," 25.

¹²¹ Pavía, Bodoque, and Martín, "Podemos, a Hurricane," 10; "Susana Díaz entra en el cuerpo a cuerpo con Podemos y le acusa de ocultar su programa," *La Opinión de Málaga*, published March 11, 2015, <http://www.laopiniondemalaga.es/andalucia/2015/03/11/susana-diaz-entra-cuerpo-cuerpo/749961.html>; Miquel Noguer, "El soberanismo pasa al ataque contra Podemos," *El País*, published December 28, 2014, http://ccaa.elpais.com/ccaa/2014/12/27/catalunya/1419721171_995204.html.

¹²² Santos Juliá, "Gente será, mas gente empoderada," *El País*, published August 8, 2014, http://cultura.elpais.com/cultura/2014/07/24/babelia/1406215148_985080.html.

5.2.2.4 *Podemos* as a source of *esperanza*

Whether *Podemos* directly originates from 15-M, a statement categorically rejected by several 15-M activists and close followers of 15-M in academia and journalism, or in fact has deeper roots in Bolivarian revolutions in Latin America, a connection denied by *Podemos*, the political party appears to be “here to stay.”¹²³ *Podemos*’ almost imminent survival in Spanish politics is closely linked to its role as a source of *esperanza* (hope) for many citizens of Spain.¹²⁴ As *Podemos* coordinator and Citizen State Council member Ángela Ballester reflects: “‘hope is the only thing left’ for many people” (*‘la esperanza es lo único que queda’ a mucha gente*).¹²⁵ By voting for *Podemos* in regional and national elections, many Spaniards *hope* to see real positive change in their daily lives, by replacing “*lo malo conocido por lo bueno por conocer*” (*the devil they know with a not-yet-known good*).¹²⁶

In reference to a *Podemos*-led administration, university professor Fernando Golvano stresses that “although . . . [*Podemos*]’ legitimacy may come from the people or the social majority [,] this is not . . . a sufficient guarantee that its power will become democratic” (*aunque . . . [la] legitimidad [de Podemos] venga del pueblo de ciudadanos o de la mayoría social [,] no es . . . una garantía suficiente para que tal poder devenga democrático*).¹²⁷ Moreover, Golvano questions how *Podemos* might “take power [without being taken by power itself]” (*tomar el poder [sin ser tomado por el poder]*) and cautions that “one must expect the best and the worst”

¹²³ Román, “How Hugo Chavez Helped Inspire”; Mingorance, “Podemos desvincula el pago.”

¹²⁴ Román, “How Hugo Chavez Helped Inspire”; Gorka Castillo, “Iglesias prepara la batalla,” *Contexto y Acción*, published February 26, 2015, <http://ctxt.es/es/20150226/politica/492/Podemos-prepara-la-batalla.htm>; Ballester, “Podemos no es un movimiento asambleario,” *Levante-EMV*, published December 6, 2014, <http://www.levante-emv.com/comunitat-valenciana/2014/12/06/ballester-movimiento-asambleario/1198006.html>.

¹²⁵ “Podemos denuncia que los recortes agudizan las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres,” *Eldiario.es*, published March 4, 2015, http://www.eldiario.es/cv/Podemos-denuncia-recortes-agudizan-diferencias_0_362913975.html; “Ballester,” *Levante-EMV*.

¹²⁶ Eugenio del Río, “¿Es ‘populista’ Podemos?,” *Rebelión*, published January 27, 2015, <http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=194778>.

¹²⁷ Golvano, “El Laberinto Democrático,” 23.

(*cabe esperar lo mejor y lo peor*).¹²⁸ As, journalist Gorka Castillo concludes: “[s]olo queda esperar” (all that is left is to wait/hope).¹²⁹

5.2.2.5 Concluding Reflections

On May 15, 2015, amid chants, speeches, and a multitudinous sea of protestors, 15-M commemorated its fourth anniversary in Madrid’s Puerta del Sol.¹³⁰ Notwithstanding the thousands of citizens who took part in this event, no Spanish political parties, new or old, were in attendance.¹³¹ While protestors at 15-M’s demonstration rejoiced some of the group’s important achievements, such as consciousness raising and establishing an independent newspaper, their elation remained sobered by the still challenging living conditions of many Spaniards.¹³² Indeed, four years after 15-M’s birth, the group’s *raison d’être* has only intensified, as since 2011, Spain has experienced increases in income gaps, gender inequality, child poverty, academic failure, and the rise of a new wide-spread phenomenon called *pobreza laboral* (working poverty).¹³³ Thus, it

¹²⁸ Golvano, “El Laberinto Democrático,” 23; Amador Fernández-Savater, “Marina Garcés: ‘Más que una Gran Victoria, necesitamos una política paciente que sepa insistir y persistir,’” *Eldiario.es*, published November 14, 2014, http://www.eldiario.es/interferencias/Marina_Garces-Gran-Victoria_6_324477566.html.

¹²⁹ Castillo, “Iglesias prepara la batalla.”

¹³⁰ “Los indignados celebran este viernes el 4º aniversario del 15-M en Sol, sin apoyo de los partidos,” *20 Minutos*, published May 15, 2015, <http://www.20minutos.es/noticia/2461144/0/cuarto-aniversario/15m/sol/>.

¹³¹ “Las asambleas vuelven a la Puerta del Sol cuatro años después del 15M,” *Cuatro*, published May 15, 2015, http://www.cuatro.com/noticias/espana/Indignados-15M-acampada_Puerta_del_Sol-cuarto_aniversario-campana_electoral-elecciones_24M_0_1987650014.html; *20 Minutos*, “Los indignados celebran este viernes”; “Miles de personas celebran en la calle el cuarto aniversario del 15M,” RTVE, last modified May 16, 2015, <http://www.rtve.es/noticias/20150516/miles-personas-celebran-calle-cuarto-aniversario-del-15m/1146080.shtml>.

¹³² “Cuarto aniversario del 15M,” YouTube video, 2:13, posted by “Disco Press,” May 15, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9KrDvbXMInI>; *20 Minutos*, “Los indignados celebran este viernes”; Carles Campuzano, “El 15-M, Cuatro Años Más Tarde,” *El Siglo de Europa* (Madrid, June 2015).

¹³³ “Báñez insiste en que entre 2014 y 2015 se habrán creado un millón de empleos,” *El Confidencial*, published February 10, 2015, http://www.elconfidencial.com/ultima-hora-en-vivo/2015-02-10/banez-insiste-en-que-entre-2014-y-2015-se-habran-creado-un-millon-de-empleos_491769/; Laura Gaelx Montero, “España incumple los acuerdos con la ONU y retrocede en igualdad de género,” *La Marea*, published September 16, 2014, <http://www.lamarea.com/2014/09/16/espana-retrocede-en-igualdad-de-genero/>; Campuzano, “El 15-M, Cuatro Años.” *Pobreza laboral* refers to “people who, despite having a job, [paradoxically] verge on poverty” (*personas que, a pesar de tener un empleo, [paradójicamente] rozan la pobreza*); this phenomenon is partially a result of Spain’s devaluation of salaries and simultaneous general price hikes. Ana Requena Aguilar and Belén Picazo, “La pobreza laboral aumenta en España,” *Eldiario.es*, published April 2, 2013, http://www.eldiario.es/economia/pobreza-laboral-aumenta-Espana_0_115488999.html.

appears that now, more than ever, the socio-political presence of 15-M and the follow-on groups is vital to protect many Spaniards from further impoverishment and marginalization. The path upon which Spain will ultimately embark is yet uncertain as this nation awakens from a deep crisis, however, if Spain should some day more closely resemble a polis, in egalitarian, democratic, and organizational terms, collective action and unity among Spaniards will be indispensable.

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